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Churkin: Karadzic Fulfilled Promise on Tuzla

LD1603162394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—Special Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin today said in Belgrade, following his talks with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that he believed that Karadzic had fulfilled his promise given in Moscow to open Tuzla airport.

Churkin noted that Karadzic had given this promise under two conditions: the presence of Russian military observers, which—in his words—was possible to organize within 48 hours, and the presence of Serb liaison officers, which was an element in the initial UN document on opening Tuzla airport.

The Russian envoy stressed that the other side did not accept the presence of Serb liaison officers at this airport but he nevertheless said he hoped other participants would continue negotiations with the Muslim government on this issue since this was a very important humanitarian issue.

We also agreed that in seeking a political solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina one should take account of the interests and sovereign rights of all three constituent peoples, he stressed. We agreed that there were ways of stimulating the difficult negotiating process, the Russian special envoy added.

Karadzic said that today's meeting was one in a series of working meetings characterized by a high degree of understanding and that he was satisfied with the fact that it had been stated in clear terms that the Serbs should have the same sovereign rights as the Muslims and Croats in Bosnia. The Serb side is trying to adjust its interests to the situation as we are determined to contribute to a final solution, particularly peace, Karadzic said. He stressed that the Serbs in Bosnia have a need for special relations with Yugoslavia. We must seek solutions within this framework, Karadzic said in conclusion.

TANJUG Views Russian Initiative on Croatia

LD1603192994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1904 GMT 16 Mar 94

[By Stevan Cordas]

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—Russian president's special envoy Vitaliy Churkin crowned his unexpected visit to Belgrade on Wednesday by announcing that Moscow was raising a new initiative for the resolution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. The initiative is aimed at having an agreement reached between the Republic of Croatia and the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) on the cessation of hostilities and the restoring of peace.

Churkin and RSK President Milan Martic agreed in Belgrade on Wednesday that Krajina-Croatia talks be held at the Russian Embassy in Zagreb on March 22.

The conflict between Krajina and Croatia broke out in 1991 because of Croatia's forcible secession from the former Yugoslavia and the attempt of its authorities to reduce the Serb people to a national minority.

The RSK was proclaimed in 1991 on ethnically and historically Serb territories within the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia. The RSK was proclaimed a U.N. protected area (UNPA) in March 1992.

After meeting with Martic, Churkin conferred separately with Bosnian Serb Leader Radovan Karadzic and President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and left for Zagreb in the afternoon. Churkin is due to leave from Zagreb for Washington on Thursday to meet with U.S. President's special envoy Charles Redman.

The new Russian initiative is in a way complementary with the U.S. initiative for the creation of a Moslem-Croat federation in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its subsequent confederation with Croatia.

The new Russian peace initiative indicates that Moscow has arrived at the conclusion that no overall political settlement is possible in Bosnia-Herzegovina without a solution for the krajina-Croatia issue.

On the other hand, the United States considers the agreement on a Moslem-Croat federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina to be of the utmost importance at this point. However, the agreement has completed only the first stage of the U.S. peace initiative. The second stage, that is, the reaching of an overall settlement for Bosnia-Herzegovina, will not be possible without the Bosnian Serbs and Russia.

It remains to be seen how Washington intends to clear the way for the second stage of the peace initiative. It is aware that the initiative cannot be successful without the Bosnian Serbs and it is no doubt seriously counting on Russia to lend a helping hand.

The announced Churkin-Redman talks should most likely be viewed in that light, and it would be no surprise if the special U.S. envoy was soon to visit Belgrade again.

Churkin Leaves Belgrade for Zagreb

LD1603161894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—Vitaliy Churkin, special envoy of the Russian president, who arrived in Belgrade on a surprise visit this morning, left for Zagreb late this afternoon. There are indications that Churkin will leave Zagreb for Washington tomorrow for a meeting with his U.S. colleague Charles Redman, President Clinton's special envoy. [passage omitted]

Ministry Cannot Prevent Zhirinovskiy Visit

AU1603203994 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Mar 94 p 3

[Unattributed report in the "Domestic News" column: The Ministry Knows About the Visit From the Press"]

[Text] Prague—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not believe that the eventual visit by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy to the Czech Republic, "if it is meant seriously," could favorably contribute to the development of Czech-Russian relations. This is said in the ministry statement that was provided yesterday by the director of its Press Department, Marek Sholil. He added that the Ministry only learned about Zhirinovskiy's intention to visit the Czech Republic from the press. According to earlier comments by the Legal and Consular Section of the Czech Foreign Ministry, Zhirinovskiy's visit cannot be prevented. He is a regularly elected deputy of the Russian State Duma, which gives him a legal right to the diplomatic passport of the Russian Federation. Not even the newly drafted visa-free travel agreement between the Czech Republic and the Russian Federation will change anything on the status of the holders of diplomatic passports.

According to the Prague Lawyer Firm of Tomas Hofmann, LL.B., Zhirinovskiy can come to the Czech Republic without an invitation. Should he violate any law here, however, he can be prosecuted like any other person who violates the legally protected interests of the Czech Republic.

No Intention of Blocking Visit

LD1603183094 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Excerpt] The Czech Government has discussed the expected visit by Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, to the Czech Republic, and has decided that it will not try to prevent it.

[Begin Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus recording] Since there is no visa requirement for Russian citizens, the government does not have any legal means that would enable it to prevent Mr. Zhirinovskiy from entering the territory of the Czech Republic [words indistinct]. The government does not intend to find a way round our laws and therefore it will act in this way.

Naturally, the government is ready to intervene if any of our laws are violated or if public order is disturbed, etc. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Thai Deputy Prime Minister on Trade, Banking

AU1603180894 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Mar 94 p 3

[Interview with Thai Deputy Prime Minister Suphachai Phanitchaphak by "pen" in Prague; date not given: "Thailand Is Interested in Direct Trade With the Czech Republic"]

[Text] "Although our mutual trade soared in recent years, I believe that the potential has not been exhausted," Thai Deputy Prime Minister Suphachai Phanitchaphak said in an interview for HOSPODARSKE NOVINY. In Prague, the Thai official discussed trade relations with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik, and other representatives.

"In the course of the talks, I have introduced some other commodities, like consumer goods, fruit, and several farm products. I also spoke about projects that might be of interest to Czech businessmen, that we invest in the development of the infrastructure—the railroads or road construction, for instance. We need chemicals. It would be expedient to found joint Czech-Thai ventures for the production and distribution of numerous items. I am thinking particularly of glass manufacturing, but also engineering and car-manufacturing projects."

In the interview, the Thai deputy prime minister emphasized that he considers the conditions in the Czech Republic suitable for opening branch offices of Thai commercial banks that would not only support the financing of mutual trade, but also trade with third countries. "I used my sojourn for informative talks with the Komercni Banka. We also want to trade with the other countries of Central and East Europe, including CIS. We know that the Czech Republic has substantial experience on these markets, including banking experience. Thus, it could play the role of a mediator for Thailand. And, vice versa, Thailand has good contacts with the developing economies of Vietnam—for instance, Cambodia, Laos, and China. So, it could become a good basis for your activities on these markets. I also can imagine a free trade zone."

Before his departure for Warsaw, Suphachai Phanitchaphak was also supposed to meet President Havel, who, however, fell ill with influenza.

Views Agricultural Export Potential

BK1703030694 Bangkok THE NATION in English 17 Mar 94 p B-2

[Text] Thailand has the opportunity to export agricultural products to the Czech Republic, said Deputy Prime Minister Suphachai Phanitchaphak while visiting the country, along with Hungary and Finland, between March 19-21 [as published] this year.

While in the republic, he met with Vaclav Klaus, the Czech Republic's prime minister, Ivan Kocarnik, Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister and Radomir Sabela, Deputy Minister of Industrial and Trade Ministry.

All parties agreed to a co-operative economic expansion in trade, investment and banking.

Thailand expressed desire to export rice, coffee, and tapioca to the Czech Republic. Direct buying and selling

transactions are planned to be conducted through Thailand's Ex-Im Bank instead of sales through the third country. The two parties agreed to operate the free trade area of CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Association] and AFTA [Atlantic Free Trade Area] by concentrating on Indochina's and Eastern Europe's trade gates to help decrease export taxes on products bound for the Czech Republic. The private sectors of both countries will also map out additional co-operative efforts, he said.

In the investment sector, Thailand persuaded the republic to pursue their crystal and machinery industry in Thailand. Expertise and production technology from Czech Republic are needed in Thailand, said Suphachai.

Ministers of New Government Sworn In

LD1603181994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Our correspondent Ivan Samel reports from Bratislava Castle on the official appointment of the new ministers, including the formal swearing-in ceremony.

[Samel] [passage omitted] Jan Findra, head of the presidential office, read out a statement in which the president appointed Jozef Moravcik as the prime minister of the Slovak Republic and chairman of the State Defense Council. He also appointed Brigita Schmognerova as deputy prime minister responsible for economic and political transformation, Roman Kovac as deputy prime minister responsible for noneconomic activities, and Ivan Simko as deputy prime minister responsible for legislation.

Michal Kovac further appointed Rudolf Filkus minister of finance; Peter Magvasi minister of the economy; Mikulas Dzurinda minister of transport; Pavel Koncos minister of agriculture; Milan Janicina minister for privatization and administration of national property; Ladislav Pittner minister of the interior; Pavel Kanis minister of defense; Eduard Kukan minister of foreign affairs; Milan Hanzel minister of justice; Lubomir Harach minister of education; Lubo Roman minister of culture; Tibor Sagat minister of health care; Julius Brocka minister of labor, social affairs, and family; and Juraj Hrasko minister of the environment.

After the government was appointed, the new ministers were sworn in by the president of the Republic and confirmed their oath with their signatures.

Kovac's Address to New Government

LD1603205994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] Immediately after the swearing-in ceremony of the new Slovak Government, Slovak President Michal Kovac addressed the members of the new government.

[Correspondent Anna Samelova] President Michal Kovac has just finished his address to the new Slovak Government. I shall acquaint you with the most important ideas in his speech.

At the beginning, President Michal Kovac said that, even if governmental changes were a natural part of the political life of democratic countries, the Slovak Republic was still too young a state not to experience every such change with particular sensitivity and tension.

He told the new Cabinet ministers that, apart from fulfilling the duties deriving from their offices, they would have to calm a population that had been made to feel insecure, and they would have to conciliate the incomprehensible and dangerous hostility among various groups of citizens.

He went on to say—I quote: You have entered the government I am inaugurating today on the basis of the agreement made among a number of political groups. You represent a very broad spectrum of views. Within the extremes of this spectrum, there is something that you all can and must share—protecting the interests of the young Slovak state and the substantial majority of its population. You must make the Slovak Republic a recognized part and a reliable partner of democratic Europe as soon as possible. You must enable the citizens to provide a comfortable life as soon as possible, without worrying about the bare necessities of life.

In the next part of his speech, President Kovac asked the members of the government not to think of their inauguration as starting from zero. Rather, they should preserve the continuity of the government and the state and become the guarantee of this continuity. They should become a government that does not want to abolish but, rather, create, one that wants to continue everything worthwhile done by the previous government.

In this connection, Kovac went on to say that the Slovak parliament disagreed with the autocratic style of the prime minister and some members of the previous government, refuted the significant trend toward the concentration of power, and made a stand for the protection of democracy and morality in political life. This, however, does not mean, President Kovac said, that the good results of the previous government and its prime minister and everything useful that they did for the Slovak citizens should be discredited.

The president then thanked Vladimir Meciar and his government for every positive step of his Cabinet and praised, in particular, the merits of Vladimir Meciar for the creation of the Slovak Republic's state sovereignty.

He also said it was a good sign that the political representatives of our Hungarian fellow citizens had also expressed support for the new government and, in this way, had declared their loyalty to the Slovak Republic. This makes it possible to implement a political line that would enable all groups among the citizens of Slovakia to see the new government as their own.

The circumstances in which this government has been formed and the current political reality, President Kovac went on to say, establishes as one of the government's most important tasks the securing of a dignified and calm run-up to the elections in such a way as to remove any possible doubts about democracy in the Slovak Republic.

President Michal Kovac then described three conditions for creating a favorable—i.e., peaceful—atmosphere in our society. One of them is the cooperation of all constitutional institutions—the president, the government, and the parliament. The second is proper relations between the government and the opposition and their mutual respect. The third is the cooperation of the

government with the state administration on lower levels, without insensitive and directive interference from above.

Of equal importance are proper relations with the institutions of local self-administration.

According to Kovac, the first condition for creating a positive image about Slovakia at home and abroad, as an attractive state with good prospects, is to put public life at home in order.

The president said he believed that the new government would recognize its great opportunity to send an important and long-awaited signal abroad that Slovakia was a consolidated and stable country, that its democratic character could create a good foundation for all-round, useful cooperation with every serious political or commercial partner.

The president said at the end—I quote: The citizens of the Slovak Republic deserve a good government that gives preference to their interests over the interests of influential egoists. They deserve a government that caters for a peaceful life for all citizens without any preference, whichever political camp they belong to or even if they belong to no political camp. You have the opportunity and also the duty to become such a government. With this trust, I have given you today the letters of appointment as members of the Slovak Government, and, with this trust, I wish you professional and personal happiness, that citizens understand all of your decisions, and that, in the shortest time possible, the population name you the government of successful cooperation. With these words President Michal Kovac ended his speech.

Government Statement of Intent

LD1603224394 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 2100 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] Our team has just returned from a news conference held after the first meeting of the government. Here is the first news from the meeting held today.

[Begin recording] [Prime Minister Josef Moravcik] The government, which had taken the oath, met for its first regular meeting tonight. The agenda included organizational issues. We clarified the nature and the style of our work and cooperation, as well as the schedule of our meetings. Besides these general matters, the government deemed it necessary to make one personnel change. It has recalled the president of the police corps as of today and appointed Mr. Lastovka to this post, as of today. The government considered this inevitable in order to ensure that the police corps operate with full efficiency.

Apart from that, the government has adopted a statement that will be read now by Mr. Simko.

[Simko] Ladies and gentlemen, allow me to present to you the statement of the Slovak Government.

The government of the broad coalition is a government formed by several political parties, by people with different political opinions. It emerged due to the need to overcome the authoritarian way of ruling and to create conditions for respect, tolerance, and cooperation among citizens.

The government is resolved to do everything in its power for the good of the Slovak Republic. The government honors and respects the principles of a law-governed state and will act in line with them. The government will focus on a realistic transformation policy that will create conditions for economic stability.

The citizens' conditions of life and certainties will become the government's priority. The government identifies itself with the appeal made by President Michal Kovac for civic, political, and national reconciliation. In this spirit, the government intends to take part in creating conditions for the citizens of the Slovak Republic to freely express their will in early elections.

[Moravcik] The selection of state secretaries will be carried out in a similar way to the formation of the government—that is, it will be the subject of coalition talks, and a similar key will be used. Individual ministers should have their say in the matter. [end recording]

President Comments on Tasks of New Government

LD1703144494 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 17 Mar 94

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In the next few minutes, you are going to hear interviews that correspondents Anna Samelova and Ivan Samel have conducted with the newly appointed ministers of key ministries. First of all, however, here is President Michal Kovac's answer to the question of what he expects from the new government.

[Begin Kovac recording] The fact that this government was formed five days after a vote of no-confidence in the previous government was passed shows that Slovakia has capable politicians who have the will to cooperate in the interest of the state and in the national interests of the Slovak Republic. I expect that, during its term of office, this government will confirm and consolidate this and will also give citizens confidence that we are not such a wrangling nation as it might have seemed recently.

Second, it is necessary that this government prepare the ground to ensure a calm course for the new elections that will most probably take place this fall. The government has very important tasks in the areas of the economy and social and foreign policy. In the economic and social areas, especially, it has to take measures to stop a further decline in the economy and the rise in unemployment. Measures need to be taken as well to increase the feeling of security among citizens who worry about their health and property, and about their social prospects. There are other tasks, as well, but the most important ones are those I have just mentioned here. [end recording]

Former Cabinet Issues Proreferendum Appeal

AU1603133794 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 12 Mar 94 p 1

[TA SR report: "Appeal in Support of Referendum"]

[Text] "Esteemed citizens, with your help we established the Slovak Republic as a sovereign state. We regret that we were unable to complete, with your support, the work that we strove to accomplish. We are confident that you will not forget this. Together with you, we are determined to realize our plans and aims. We are still keen on your support and favor. We will do everything in our power to achieve the aims outlined by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in his address to the National Council of the Slovak Republic on 11 March 1994. In the interest of a democratic Slovak Republic, give your support to the referendum!" This is stated in a Slovak Government statement that was made available to the TA SR yesterday evening.

Meciar Defends Referendum

AU1703123594 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Mar 94 pp 1, 3

["Unedited authentic account" of statements made by Vladimir Meciar at his last news conference as prime minister in Bratislava on 14 March: "Still in Government Office, but Already in Opposition"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—[passage omitted]

About the Referendum

The institution of the referendum exists precisely to make it possible to change even the constitutional system. The French Constitution did not make it possible for de Gaulle to be elected directly by the citizens, and he thus proposed, acting in contravention of the Constitution, that he be granted this right in a referendum. Otherwise, he would step down. He was accorded this right in a referendum and this [the direct election of the French president] is still valid. This means that a referendum can go beyond the constitutional framework and that even questions can be asked in it that are not quite in conformity with the Constitution. This is the case because a referendum is the most democratic form of expression. The conclusions of an all-popular vote are generally valid and respected everywhere, and, because this referendum [initiated by the HZDS] is the first ever in this state, it deserves support and not to make voters disgusted.

Ethnic Hungarian Party Leader on Meciar's Fall

AU1603151394 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Mar 94 p 9

[Interview with Gyula Popely, chairman of the Hungarian People's Party, by Gabor Paizs; place and date not given: "Gyula Popely About the Fall of the Meciar Cabinet"]

[Text] [Paizs] As chairman of the Hungarian People's Party outside the Slovak parliament, what is your opinion about the success of the second no-confidence motion and the fall of the Meciar government? Can one envisage an advance of the left wing as in Poland?

[Popely] The domestic political situation in Slovakia has its particularity in the sense that the left essentially advanced in the months following the 1992 elections. A slowdown in the privatization process and, subsequently, a complete halt to this process are clear examples of this advance. It is hard to expect anything good or any clear development from the current situation. In my modest view, the situation will become even more complicated, and I do not exclude the possibility of a new and spectacular return of the current fallen prime minister, Meciar. And one should not forget that we are again facing elections. The only question is when these elections will be held. I think it would have been more fortunate if the Meciar Cabinet had continued for a few more months because, in that case, the entire society would have realized the true aspect of the country- and self-damaging Meciar policy. This way, however, Meciar has succeeded in creating a political situation in which, by escaping from it, he can live through the events of the coming months as a martyr.

[Paizs] A situation has emerged now that the ethnic Hungarian political parties represent the political balance. In your view, will the political prestige of the Hungarian parties indeed increase in the chess game of the coming days and weeks?

[Popely] That is true: The Hungarian parties represent the political balance today, but let me add that there is not a single opposition political force in Slovakia today that would be ready to regard the Hungarian parties as a serious factor. I think it is an illusion to expect a situation in which the Hungarians here can bring themselves into a serious political position with the formation of a new government, not because the Hungarians would refrain from participating but because every opposition Slovak party would lose popularity in the eyes of the Slovak voters if they cooperated with us.

[Paizs] Is it possible that the Hungarian parties will obtain more than 10 percent of the votes in the next elections?

[Popely] It is possible, but I do not regard this as a realistic figure. If the current electoral law remains in force, one that requires a threshold of 7 percent in the case of a coalition made up of two or three parties and a threshold of 10 percent in the case of a coalition made up of four, I think the chances for Hungarian political subjects to enter the Slovak parliament are endangered. Therefore, the best thing would be for all of the Hungarian political forces to run under one name, not in a coalition but as a single party, with the participation of all of the Hungarian candidates, either on the list of Coexistence or on the list of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement. In that case, they would have to

achieve only a 5-percent threshold. One should not forget that, at the elections in June 1992, our success in reaching the 7-percent threshold depended on only 13,000 votes.

[Paizs] What is your opinion about the spread of the left and the relations of the Hungarian political parties with the left? Is it possible that Peter Weiss of the Party of the Democratic Left will also have a mandate from the Csallokoz area?

[Popely] This is quite possible, and even more than one mandate. One should not forget that there are two Hungarian parliamentary deputies in the Party of the Democratic Left. This party is expected to form an alliance with the Social Democrats and the Slovak Agricultural Party. The latter has a lot of people in the areas inhabited by Hungarians. It is to be feared that some of the former Hungarian members of agricultural cooperatives will not be steadfast enough, and they might vote for Weiss and his party under the spell of the promises of various social reforms. They deliberately "travel" around for Hungarian votes. It is no accident that one of the deputy chairmen of the Party of the Democratic Left is a Hungarian named Erzsebet Borza. This is the only Slovak party that has its own national minority concept.

Fear for Future of Country, REPUBLIKA

AU1603135094 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 12 Mar 94 p 1

[Editorial by Chief Editor Jan Smolec in the "Public Matter" column]

[Text] After the conclusion of yesterday's meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [where a no-confidence vote in Meciar's government was passed], our editorial office was flooded with desperate telephone calls. Often through tears, the question could be heard: "WHAT IS GOING TO BECOME OF US SLOVAKS?"

People's fears are justified. Power has been seized by politicians who did not even move a finger for the independent Slovak Republic.

Vladimir Meciar, the architect of Slovak independence and for three years the most popular politician in Slovakia, has had to vacate the prime minister's seat under the influence of a Czechoslovakist, communist, and Hungarian conspiracy.

Who deserves the greatest credit for this political reversal on Slovakia's political scene?

First and foremost, the Slovak president and representatives of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. Henceforth, the life of the Slovak society will be influenced, for example, by Peter Weiss, an heir of the communists from whom we have not heard one word of a sincere declaration of affection for the Slovak nation. Jan Carnogursky, who had voted against Slovak sovereignty, may return to the Slovak Government. While the Slovak Metropolitan Archbishop Jan Sokol was praying for sovereignty, this Christian politician voted against it. Apparently from shame, the archbishop hid his face in the palms of his hands.

These people, together with the hate-filled [Alliance of Democrats Chairman Milan] Knazko and, of course, with exemplary irredentists, will lead Slovakia from now on. Where do you think they will lead it? They may want to steer the ship back to Czechoslovakist or other dangerous waters. Fortunately, there exist politicians, writers, members of the intelligentsia, journalists, and, most important of all, Slovaks who will carefully monitor their actions. For the time being, there also still exists the editorial staff of REPUBLIKA. The present victors will surely try to liquidate our newspaper and break up the editorial team.

They broke us up once before, but we came back.

We will not surrender.

The fight for Slovakia continues.

Official Explains Temporary Cutoff at RFE

LD1603212194 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] Listeners as well as Radio Free Europe [RFE] editors themselves were really surprised this morning to find that the RFE broadcasts to Slovakia had gone silent. It was only after some time that they found out that the program was not being broadcast because the transmitters in Velke Kostolany and Poprad had been switched off.

Slovak Telecommunications issued a statement explaining the reason for the cutoff. Vladimir Ondrovic, director general of Slovak Telecommunications, gave more details at a news conference this afternoon.

[Begin Ondrovic recording] I was invited this Monday, 14 March, to the Ministry of Transport, Communications, and Public Works, where I was presented with a document that said that Slovak Telecommunications was suspending transmission of RFE broadcasts via transmitters in Velke Kostolany and Poprad. The document was entitled "Cessation of a Contract or Cancellation of a Contract." This cannot be a cancellation of an agreement because there is one more transmitter, the one in Presov transmitting at 14 kilowatts. This transmitter is continuing transmissions and has not been switched off.

[Vladimir] Zeman, director of [the ministry's communications] section, asked me to sign this document and send it to RFE. He did so verbally, I received no written instruction. Director Kuban, who is in charge of all transmitters, be they for radio, TV, or RFE transmissions, was also present. I have to admit that both of us signed the document at that very moment. Mr. Zeman then told me that he would consult Minister Hofbauer on

14 March over the matter and that the document would then be presented to the government, where he would want to have it approved.

On Monday afternoon at about 1400 GMT, Mr. Zeman came with other documents or, rather, with the same documents, which had not been signed but had been printed anew. He wanted us to sign these documents. I personally told him that I would not sign this document and that I would not send the fax to RFE. And that was what happened.

I called the executive [of Slovak Telecommunications] at 1600 GMT. The executive discussed the matter, and we decided that this would harm Slovakia and that we would not issue an order to switch off RFE.

Yesterday—that is, on 15 March—I was summoned to the Ministry of Transport, Communications and Public Works. Director Kuban was summoned as well. I was showed a document on recalling the director of Slovak Telecommunications from his post. [as heard] Exactly at the same time, Kuban, who is the director of a branch of the telecommunications directorate, was shown a letter of appointment authorizing him to direct Slovak Telecommunications. After having received this document, Mr. Kuban began to take steps, and, without any instruction to do so, of his own will, he had the transmission of RFE broadcasts switched off last night.

I recalled Mr. Kuban from his post as director of a branch of the telecommunications directorate at 0720 GMT this morning in this very room. Subsequently, I issued an instruction to switch the transmission of RFE broadcasts on again.

Editor Protests Ministry Statement

LD1603203294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] Anna Samelova, editor of Slovak radio's Radiozurnal, has strongly protested against the statement made by Peter Kuchar, spokesman of the Interior Ministry of the Slovak Republic, to the effect that some journalists used the events at the Primatial Square on Monday, 14 March, to compromise the police.

On that day at the Primatial Square, an unknown man hit Samelova in the face with his fist. She asked a policeman standing next to her for help. To her request, he replied: I am not here.

The Radiozurnal editor denies that, at the beginning of the Monday evening edition of Radiozurnal, she used the information to politically compromise the police. She merely described what happened at the square during a public radio broadcast. However, she does not see the fact that she decided not to press charges as a reason not to investigate the events and draw appropriate conclusions on the part of competent bodies.

Goncz Highlights Press Freedom in Speech

LD1503175794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 15 Mar 94

[Speech by President Arpad Goncz in Szeged on the occasion of the anniversary of the 1848 war of independence—live]

[Excerpts] Citizens of Szeged, my dear friends: The date of 15 March is the festival of spring, our country's spring. [passage omitted]

Today we are in a different situation than that of Petoefi [poet-hero of the 1848 revolution] and his revolutionary friends. Today we live in an independent country and nobody is forcing our homeland to struggle for survival. No threatening great power looms over us to trample on our freedom with their jackboots. We have created our system of democratic institutions and it is only up to us to learn the unwritten rules of democracy. Today we are obligated not by force but by the Constitution of our country to realize what the number one point of the March youth [reference to the March Declaration of the revolutionaries in 1848] was demanding: freedom of the press, and its freedom from the shackles of either economic or political group interests.

Our Constitution states clearly that in Hungary everyone has the right to express his opinion freely and to obtain information and disseminate facts and figures of public interest. The Hungarian Republic recognizes and protects the freedom of the press; this is what the quotation from the Constitution says.

I am obliged by the Constitution to voice the unity of the nation and to guard the democratic operation of the state organization. [passage omitted]

We know that radio and television today are forced to operate under the supervision of the government until the laws considered by the Constitutional Court as necessary for their operation are adopted, thereby bringing about the supervision of these two institutions by society. Thus, today it is the government's duty to enforce the Constitutional Court's stipulations regarding radio and television. This is how it can provide real evidence that it respects the statutes of the Constitution. [applause]

To close this subject let me add that no matter how important—right now in the middle of the election struggle—the state of radio and television and the proper enforcement of the Constitution's stipulations, this is only a symptom. What really is important today, the real subject and stake of the election struggle, is the democratic operation of the whole country. This has to be evaluated freely by every citizen of this country, without any biased influence. This is their moral right and duty, and last but not least, their important self-interest. [passage omitted]

I know that you here in Szeged, and others elsewhere in the country, look about yourselves hesitantly. You read in the papers daily that billions disappear gradually as they are passed from hand to hand, that your children are approached by drug dealers, and that guns are sold alongside cheap T-shirts at the flea markets.

During this sunny spring people are groping in the slimy fog of suspicion and feel the tip of some sort of iceberg, but they do not know what kind of iceberg it is. They do not know what is under the surface, and they feel that our society is intertwined by alliances of criminal interest. The country is buzzing with hearsay and demands names—and rightly so. Let us hope that our police will overcome this horrible situation. [passage omitted]

All this, of course, is also up to us. First, we have to find peace in ourselves. To do this, we must not believe the constant shower of slander that splatters mud on everything and everybody. We must not join the ranks of those following murderous ideas beckoning from the past, and we must guard our sanity with great care. We must not believe that the world is resolutely out to get us, and only us.

Let us accept that we Hungarians are all Hungarians, and that the Hungarian flag is beautiful as it is: red, white, and green. It is not worthwhile exchanging it with either the red flag of Stalin, the white flag of the aristocracy, or the green flag of the Arrow Cross party. [applause]

These colors are rather faded by now, and it is difficult to distinguish between them. Let us proclaim that to be Hungarian is no virtue, no prerogative, but not condemnation to exile either. It is a state originating from our language and our traditions. It is such a natural and everyday state that one does not even have to think about it. However, most of us could not even imagine living somewhere else and some other way. [passage omitted]

I wanted to say to you today, on the ides of March 1994, 146 years after Petoefi and his young friends proclaimed freedom, equality, and fraternity in our country. Let us be honest: In this part of the world all three leave something to be desired even today. It is up to us to remedy this. Thank you for your attention.

Pawlak, Thai Official Discuss Trade

LD1603161194 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1440 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Mar—Wednesday is the second day of an official visit to our country by Suphachai Planitchapak, the deputy prime minister of Thailand. During a meeting with Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, the state of economic and trade relations between both countries was discussed, while possibilities for investing in Poland were the topic of a conversation with Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy.

It was agreed during the meeting with Pawlak that both countries' ministers responsible for commerce would prepare a list of goods for mutual trade. The establishment of mutual banking contacts was also considered important.

The balance of foreign trade was also discussed. The balance is unfavorable to Poland. In 1992, there was a negative balance of approximately $280 million. The deficit is due, among other things, to large imports of Thai consumer goods, mostly textile products (clothing and underwear), by private companies.

Thailand is ready to invest capital in Polish markets, Sejm Speaker Oleksy said after the meeting with Thailand's deputy prime minister.

On Thursday [17 March], on the third and last day of the visit, the Thai politician will be received by President Lech Walesa and will meet journalists.

Lithuanian Friendship Pact Ready for Signing

WS1603161294 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Mar 94 p 23

[Article by M.W.: "Rationales and Emotions; Poland and Lithuania Intend To Initial a Treaty Friday"]

[Text] *President of the Polish Republic Lech Walesa had a telephone conversation yesterday with Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas, the Belweder's Press Office reported. Both presidents confirmed their will to have the foreign ministers of both countries initial a treaty on neighborly relations. This signing ceremony is to take place on Friday [18 March], during a visit to Poland by Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys.*

President Brazauskas invited Lech Walesa to pay an official visit to Lithuania, and the invitation was accepted.

Albinas Januska, Lithuanian deputy foreign minister, said in a statement to THE BALTIC OBSERVER, which is published in Riga, that a condemnation of Polish history in the treaty would be absolutely unacceptable to Poland, and that is why a compromise had to be worked out. In Januska's view, Poland is one of Lithuania's most important partners, as well as Lithuania's "door" to Europe. The treaty between the two countries will allow for a free-trade treaty to be signed. After the treaty with Poland is finalized, Lithuania will be able to concentrate its attention on negotiations with Belarus and Russia.

But a newly established Social Committee for the Lithuanian-Polish Treaty, which was set up in Vilnius, organized a picketing at the Foreign Affairs Ministry building there, during which the committee demanded that the treaty's contents be made public and that Polish occupation of the Vilnius area be condemned. The committee announced another picketing shortly thereafter in front of the Sejm building, which is at the same time the president's headquarters.

EU Reluctance To Admit Poland Criticized

PM1703094394 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 10 Mar 94 p 5

[Article by Jaroslaw Palyska: "A Long Way to Europe: Why They Don't Want Us in the European Union"]

[Text] Polish politicians keep setting hopeful deadlines by which, they believe, Poland should be accepted into the European Union. Western politicians are much more circumspect on the subject.

Recently, the European Commission's delegate to Prague, Gerard Sabathil, presented his views on the question of the admission of countries from our region of Europe into the Community: Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic should indeed join the European Union, but only after they have moved at least halfway toward the levels of economic development standard throughout its countries.

Mr. Sabathil must surely be aware of the unrealistic quality of his suggestion. In the West, GDP figures are at least dozens of times higher than in Poland. Our GDP amounts to 4.7 percent of Belgian GNP and 6.1 percent of the German GDP. These proportions could change even further to our detriment, considering that, since 1989, our GNP has already fallen by about 12 percent.

Gerhard Sabathil's words gave rise to a storm of protests. Wolfgang Roth, SPD deputy and vice president of the European Investment Bank, accused Sabathil of creating an atmosphere conducive to another war in Europe. In his opinion, West Europe must accept the necessity of making efforts to "propel" the weaker economies of East European countries in order to prevent a political disaster. "The European Union cannot become some kind of exclusive 'Prosperity Club' for countries that have inherited Charlemagne's legacy," Roth insists.

The view that the speedy integration of East Europe into the European Union is a necessity remains an empty declaration. Reality paints a completely different picture. There are few honest intentions underlying the facade of fine words.

The European Commission has rolled out the heavy artillery of its protectionist policies, which have been

hitting our exports with all their might. The West applies the weapons of antidumping prices and predetermined limited import quotas. Steel producers have fought the hardest campaign against goods exported by the East. It is true that the European Union has promised a gradual lowering of tariffs on these products, yet it did not hesitate to introduce antidumping prices against the Czechs, who, in the opinion of Brussels politicians, were selling their products at below-production costs. So where is the alleged free market that has been praised to high heaven by the same politicians from Brussels?

Not only steel is at issue. There is a large variety of goods on which import limits or customs tariffs are imposed: meat, soft fruit, grains, and so on.

The West's resistance is not restricted to erecting economic barriers against us. Within the European Union itself, there are politicians hostile to the idea of accepting us into the Community. The French are terrified that East Europeans could reinforce Germany's powerful position. The weaker countries, such as Spain and Portugal, are afraid that East Europe's accession to the Union will weaken their own importance in the group.

There is no need to go on at length about the disastrous effects of such policies. Our countries' share in the trading figures of West European markets is rapidly decreasing for all sectors of the economy. Only 1.3 percent of chemical products sold there come from East Europe; the corresponding figures are 2.7 percent of steel and steel products, and 2.3 percent of agricultural products.

We on our part are determined to give as good as we get in our trading with the West, and so we also slap customs tariffs on imported products and set limits on the quotas on individual goods (such as, for instance, automobiles).

It is not the purpose of this article just to describe the consequences of the protectionist policy. However, it must be said that it is first and foremost the customer who loses by it because he has no opportunity to choose freely the product that it would suit him most to buy. When imports are restricted, prices rise above the levels they would otherwise have reached. It is the customer who pays the difference. Moreover, the imposition of customs tariffs is harmful also to companies themselves because the weaker producers manage to survive in the market precisely thanks to tariffs. If these were eliminated, they could move their capital to more cost-effective sectors of the economy.

There are many more consequences of the protectionist policy, and the harmful ones outnumber those that are beneficial. Apart from our low GDP, what other reasons influence the Brussels politicians' unwillingness to approve our accession to the European Union?

In 1990, the average length of the Polish working week was 33.3 hours. In Germany, it was longer by six hours, while in Austria and Switzerland it was longer by eight hours. In addition to this, we must remember that, in the West, people work those longer hours with better machines and equipment. For the time being, at least, their managerial personnel are also superior to ours. Consequently, they achieve higher productivity figures.

Furthermore, the structure of our economy also leaves a lot to be desired. In the West, the industry sector produces 25-35 percent of the GDP. In Poland, our industry turns out as much as 40.9 percent of the GDP. It is possible that this is the result of the strong predilection that our former rulers manifested for the fire-belching smokestacks of heavy industry. By contrast, they paid absolutely no attention to the services sector, which generates the highest proportion of the West's wealth.

Our agriculture is in a state of complete collapse. Even though we turn out plenty of agricultural products, this is done at tremendous expense. Our farms are fragmented in the extreme. As many as 53.4 percent farms work between 1 and 4.9 hectares of land, a situation that is practically unknown in the West. The rural sector employs 27.8 percent of our working population in Poland, while the corresponding percentages in all countries between the Odra and the Atlantic are expressed in single figures. As we can see, here in Poland a whole massive army of agricultural workers cultivates a large number of small fields. Given such excessive fragmentation, it becomes not cost-effective to buy machines and fertilizers or to strive for higher productivity. Even though farmers keep agricultural production going, they are forced to do so at such a high price that they have hardly any money left in the form of decent profit.

These are merely the basic reasons the European Union does not want us in its midst. As long as we fail to put our own economic house and backyard in order, we need not count on receiving from the West a positive assessment of the possibility of our admission. It will depend on nothing but our own work whether we catch up with the wealthier countries. And we had better believe that no one is going to help us with it. We are forced to rely on ourselves and ourselves alone.

Daily on 'Extra-Sejm' Constitutional Ideas

WS1503140094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by Marcin Dominik Zdort: "Extra-Sejm Constitutional Drafts; With Whom Can President Prepare Basic Law?"]

[Text] *After the Sejm's rejection on the first reading of his draft law on proceedings used in adopting a new Constitution, President Lech Walesa announced that the basic law will be prepared outside of parliament. There was talk about a need to set up a 100-person constituent assembly and also about the possibility of legal experts from the President's Office preparing a Constitution, assisted by presidential councils to be set up by Walesa or in cooperation with extraparliamentary parties. which are working on their own drafts. "The president will present the new*

Constitution directly to the nation, and the nation will adopt it in a referendum," Lech Walesa's associates announced.

All significant extraparliamentary parties and blocs have been trying to come up with their own ideas on what kind of constitution Poland should have.

According to the ZChN, the PC, the RdR, the PL, and the KK

The most popular constitutional commission outside of the Sejm was established by a coalition comprising the Christian-National Union [ZChN], the Center Accord [PC], Movement for the Republic [RdR], and the Peasant Accord [PL]. The commission's proceedings are coordinated by Walerian Piotrowski, chairman of the National Assembly's Constitutional Commission of the previous term. During the previous term of parliament, he was a senator for the ZChN. The commission includes as its members leaders of all of the parties forming the alliance, among them Wieslaw Chrzanowski and Marek Jurek of the ZChN, Jaroslaw Kaczynski and Ludwik Dorn of the PC, Romuald Szeremietiew and Lech Jeczmyk of the RdR, and Gabriel Janowski and Henryk Bak of the PL. Recently, as the right-wing camp was joined by the Conservative Coalition [KK] (a group formed after a split within the Conservative Party), the commission began to also include KK leaders Kazimierz Michal Ujazdowski and Lech Mazewski.

Proceedings by Piotrowski's Constitutional Commission began on 17 January, and the basis for the commission's work was determined to be made up of two drafts: a Senate draft of 1991 and the PC draft from 1992. Actually, both of these propositions suited the views of the PC leaders in the various periods of the party's activity. The Senate draft, whose main promoter and coauthor is Senator Alicja Grzeskowiak of the PC, who is also a member of the Senate club of Solidarity and of the current National Assembly's Constitutional Commission, proposes strong presidential power, whereas the PC's draft is more cautious when it comes to defining the powers of the head of state. Leaders of the parties that are working on the draft do not hide the fact that a "too strong presidential power may lead to authoritarian rule, similar to anarchy."

The PC-ZChN-RdR-PL coalition has made a suggestion, on Ludwik Dorn's initiative, to the parties in the parliament, that a constitutional "Roundtable" be formed. A constitutional draft would be adopted by a National Constitutional Council, which would include proportionate representations by parties that gained at least 1 percent of the vote in the recent parliamentary elections. A draft agreed upon by such a commission would then be adopted by the Sejm on a "gentlemen's agreement" basis, just like the "Roundtable" agreements of 1989. But the governing coalition rejects the idea.

According to Solidarity and Secretariat

A Social Constitutional Commission under the patronage of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity has been working on a constitution from scratch. The commission was set up during a congress of center-right-wing parties that took place in Krakow on 5 December 1993. The idea to establish this commission was put forward by the Secretariat of Center-Right-Wing Parties, which, among others, includes Christian Democracy-Party of Labor (of Tomasz Jackowski), Movement of the Third Republic (of Jan Parys), and the Polish Association (of Andrzej Anusz). Noninvolvement in politics is the commission's basic rule of action. Even though after Solidarity assumed patronage over the commission the trade union's chief, Marian Krzaklewski, became the commission's honorary chairman, the commission primarily includes different kinds of experts, including legal ones. In fact, the commission is chaired by Andrzej Rosciszewski, dean of the Warsaw Bar Association. The commission's sessions also include participation by members of the Senate club of Solidarity, such as Piotr Lukasz Juliusz Andrzejewski, Zbigniew Romaszewski, and August Chelkowski. Senator Alicja Grzeskowiak has also declared her willingness to participate (she is already a member of two other constitutional commissions). Among others, Jan Olszewski, Krzysztof Piesiewicz, Kazimierz Barczyk, and Jozefina Hrynkiewicz debate as experts in four groups: human and civic rights and duties; general constitutional principles as well as the defense system and extraordinary emergencies; political, social, and economic system; and sources of law and justice system's institutions. The commission's groups often conduct tours financed by Solidarity; the most recent of those took place this past weekend in Rynia, in the Zegrzyn lagoon area.

The Secretariat's politicians are hopeful that the law on proceedings for preparing the Constitution will include a citizens' constitutional initiative. After the rejection of Lech Walesa's draft, a similar proposition was suggested by Jerzy Jaskiernia of the Democratic Left Alliance. According to him, a group of half a million citizens should enjoy the possibility of submitting their own constitutional draft. "Only Solidarity is capable of gathering half a million signatures," one of the Secretariat's politicians says.

According to UPR, the PChD, the PK, the SLCh, and the SND

"The Accord of 11 November," which includes the Union for Real Politics [UPR] of Janusz Korwin-Mikke, the Party of Christian Democrats [PChD] of Pawel Laczkowski, the Conservative Party [PK] of Aleksander Hall, the Peasant-Christian Party [SLCh] of Jozef Slisz, and the National-Democratic Party [SND] of Jan Zamoyski, does not intend to set up a constitutional commission of their own, even though a team is already working that is supposed to present "constitutional theses" of the economic right wing by 1 May 1994. "Out of the existing drafts, we feel that the Senate draft fulfills

our expectations the most," the coalition's leaders say, but they also emphasize that the draft is not perfect.

Who With Walesa?

Lech Walesa counts the most on cooperation with Solidarity and its Constitutional Commission. The president, while himself being in a dispute with the government, is looking for an ally in his dispute with parliament (the trade union is also in a dispute with the government). Lech Falandysz, deputy chief of the President's Office, stressed several times that the presidential proposition of a citizens' constitutional initiative was a cordial gesture addressed precisely at Solidarity. The trade union's activists and the Secretariat's politicians do not rule out a tactical alliance with Walesa during the fight for the Constitution, but they want to remain very cautious when it comes to any kind of wider cooperation. Right-wing activists of the other two blocs outside of the Sejm do not see a chance for cooperation with the president, while almost everyone agrees that the completely extraparliamentary way of adopting the Constitution suggested by Lech Walesa is unacceptable to them.

Solidarity Chairman Meets With Senate Speaker

WS1603140294 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by B.I.W.: "Speaker Struzik Will Ask Prime Minister for a Substantive Talk With 'S'; People Do Not Like To Be Slighted"]

[Text] "The speaker will suggest to the prime minister that our talk be about specifics, that it be substantive, and that it lead to solutions that would end this dispute and allow us to take a breath," Solidarity ["S"] Chairman Marian Krzaklewski told RZECZPOSPOLITA after the Tuesday [15 March] meeting with Senate Speaker Adam Struzik of the Polish Peasant Party. If the meeting with Waldemar Pawlak does not result in negotiations, "S" will announce the preparation of a "schedule of broader pressure." There may be a mass protest, a strike cumbersome to the people, as a reaction to the deteriorating material situation of employees; however, there may also be a doubly-strong reaction to the slighting of the people by the authorities. "Such a reaction is often greater because people do not like to be slighted by the authorities," said the "S" chairman.

The First "Exchange of Views"

At the press conference, Krzaklewski said that the meeting with the Senate speaker was "the first platform for an exchange of views" with the authorities. The talk, to which he was invited by Struzik, served, among other purposes, as "the preparation of the ground" for the Friday meeting with Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak. "I drew the speaker's attention to the fact that the talk with the prime minister cannot be prepared in advance, be courteous, and be held only for the sake of being held. If this is what the government thought, the scenario for further developments will be more dramatic."

Asked about whether Struzik is playing the role of a mediator in the talks between "S" and the government, Krzaklewski said that "one can certainly speak about the role of a mediator, but not just that" because the speaker "is not a neutral person."

According to the "S" head, during that meeting he discussed the strike situation and the union demands; both of them debated them and "jointly sought ways to reach agreement": methods, scope, and consistency in implementing these demands. Krzaklewski added that, before that, Struzik had forwarded a letter to "S," in which he signaled the possibilities of including the issues suggested by the union in the Senate debate. The "S" head is not counting on a radical change in the Budget Law, but on "resolving the problem through decisions around the budget."

Krzaklewski stated that he and Struzik had come to a mutual conclusion that "it is bad that so far no substantive talk on the demands has been held, and that the polemic is being held through the mass media." According to them, the "information hype in the mass media" impedes agreement, even though they have similar views. Both of them agreed that there must be more direct contacts between the parliament and the trade unions.

The speaker and the "S" head also discussed "issues concerning the political system": implementation of the "Pact on Enterprise" and giving state property to citizens.

Clubs and a Serious Force

According to Krzaklewski, the government treats agreement with "S" as a concession to a serious force, the only opponent (with the current parliamentary majority, it does not need to be afraid of either the president or the opposition), which may become stronger after agreement is reached. During the protests, the union saw what the real program of the center left is really like, and it turned out, said the "S" head, that many parties have an antiemployee program.

Asked about "S" political clubs, Krzaklewski said that the decisions must be made by the union's congress; however, for the time being, "S" cannot afford to "draw attention to specific issues" because it must implement important union tasks. The "S" head added that he could see the necessity for the union activists to get in touch with people and that discussions, without the establishment of any parties and the usage of the "S" sign, are within the limits of trade union activities. Krzaklewski would like to take advantage of these contacts by building "the broadest possible contract," a contract for names and for the resolution of problems before the self-governmental elections."

Pickets and Strikes

Yesterday the action was joined by the Swietokrzyski Region, with the strike by the plant in Konskie as well as the Slupsk Region (among other strikes, the strike by the Uska Shipyard). National Committee Press Spokesman Piotr Zak explained that 24 miners who are on strike in the "Andaluzja" mine went underground and submitted not only wage demands to the Bytom Coal Partnership, but also national "S" demands. Zak says that a similar situation may develop in the "Silesia" mine, which belongs to the Vistula partnership.

Today, from 0400 to 0800, the municipal transportation establishments in the Katowice Voivodship (among other places, in Katowice, Sosnowiec, and Zawiercie) will go on strike. Contrary to earlier statements, Bydgoszcz will strike only today. Also, Bialystok will participate in a protest on Thursday, when the union's "popiwek [tax on excessive wage increases] picketing begins in front of the Sejm. The picketing is supposed to end regardless of whether the new popiwek law is passed.

SLD Leader Says President Should Sign Budget

LD1703111194 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0750 GMT 17 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Mar—Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] leader Aleksander Kwasniewski was asked today by "Radio Three" what he thinks about the alleged dilemma of the president, who appears to be thinking of whether or not to sign the budget as preelection promises have not been fulfilled. Kwasniewski replied that the "president, who on several occasions promised us various programs and failed to fulfill any, should show more patience in judging the implementation of programs by the four-month-old government."

"The president has more programs to explain after over three years in office," Kwasniewski added, at the same time calling for a renunciation of disputes and a search for a basis of cooperation between the government, the coalition, and the president.

The SLD leader also said that "by not signing the budget, the president will make Poland look ridiculous, especially in a situation in which we have an agreement signed with the London Club and in which the budget has helped us to win the necessary confidence of the world."

Debt-Reduction Deal Concluded With London Club

AU1603150794 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12-13 Mar 94 p 1

[Article by Robert Jakubowski: "London Taken"]

[Text] After four years of talks, Poland has at last concluded a deal on a reduction of the debts it owes to commercial banks in the London Club. We still have to pay more than half of the $13-billion debt, but most of it does not have to be paid for several years' time.

Polish negotiators reached agreement with the commercial banks in Frankfurt on the night of Thursday to Friday [10-11 March]. The chief of the Polish delegation, Krzysztof Krowacki, says that the entire Polish debt (including interest) will be reduced by 45.2 percent. Poland will purchase a part of the debt this year, but at a low price. The remainder will be converted into bonds with a term of 20 or 30 years.

During the four years of talks, Poland kept saying it wanted a 50-percent reduction in its debts, the same percentage waived by the Paris Club of commercial banks in 1990. But, over the past year, Krowacki spoke only of the "relativity" of the conditions necessary for a reduction.

Our negotiators were not so much concerned with the size of the reduction. Of greater concern was that Poland should not repay too much, at least not in the beginning. For the time being, we are not going to pay more than $400 million per year and, after five years, not more than $0.5 billion.

Following the news of the agreement, the price of the Polish debt on secondary markets fell from 46 to 41.5 cents. "If the price had risen, it woid have meant that the deal was a success for the banks," joked Krowacki. The dealers handling the Polish debt also explained the fallen price by the fact that Poland will repay its creditors less than expected, and much later than expected.

Prime Minister Pawlak said that the rapid and favorable agreement is largely attributable to the German banks.

"The Germans have the strongest links to the Polish economy, and that is why they wanted to see this deal concluded as quickly as possible," says James Lister-Cheese of the U.S. Morgan Stanley investment bank.

"The signing of the agreement means that, as of 1995, we are going to service our debts fully. In this way, our financial relations with the West will undergo a complete normalization," says Finance Minister Henryk Chmielak.

Banks and other financial institutions will be all the more willing to give us loans, and foreign investors will have more courage to enter Poland if the banks that finance them stop treating Poland as a high risk.

The conclusion of the agreement with the London Club was also one of the conditions imposed on us by the IMF and the World Bank.

Results of Public Opinion Survey Published

LD1603201594 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1828 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Mar—Among 16 institutions in the Public Opinion Research Centre [CBOS] league table,

the army enjoys the greatest confidence (79 percent) and the least disapproval (8 percent) among the respondents. We have least confidence in private banks; nearly half of the respondents (47 percent) do not trust them.

The CBOS poll was conducted between 11 and 15 February of this year on a nationwide, random representative sample of 1,198 adult members of Poland's population.

Number-two in the table is the ombudsman, who is trusted by 71 percent of the public and distrusted by 11 percent. At number three comes public television, for which approval was expressed by 69 percent of the respondents and disapproval by 20 percent. The next place went to the state police, in which 66 percent of the respondents expressed confidence, while 27 percent expressed a lack of it.

The authorities of the respondents' towns (parishes) and the church each enjoyed 54 percent of public confidence. Disapproval was expressed by 32 and 37 percent, respectively.

More than half of the respondents (51 percent) expressed confidence in the government, the Sejm, the courts, and the Supreme Chamber of Control. The greatest disapproval among these was expressed for the Sejm (35 percent) and the government (33 percent).

Among the central institutions, the poorest appraisal is given to the work of the president, who is trusted by 35 percent of the respondents but disapproved of by more than half (55 percent).

In February, confidence in the activities of trade unions went up. Approval for Solidarity (40 percent) went up 15 points, while, for the National Trade Union Alliance, it rose by 10 percentage points. The improved position of the trade unions probably resulted from the Warsaw demonstration by Solidarity, as well as from the recently more frequent appearances by representatives of these organizations in the mass media.

Foreign Ministry Hails U.S. Nuclear Moratorium

AU1603140894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] Regarding President Bill Clinton's announcement made in the U.S. Congress on 14 March on the extension of the moratorium on nuclear tests until September 1995, Mircea Geoana, spokesman of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, today declared the following:

Romania salutes the decision that encourages the achievement of the goals of nonproliferation—above all, the unconditioned prolongation over an indefinite period of time of the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons—as well as the negotiations currently taking place at the Geneva disarmament conference on a total ban on nuclear tests.

We express our hope that in concordance with the efforts made by the international community to strengthen the current juridical instruments and institutions set up to prevent the spreading of mass destruction weapons, all other nuclear powers will take measures similar to those adopted by the U.S. party, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Daily's Director Rejects Criminal Investigation

AU1503173794 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 11 Mar 94 p 8

[Interview with EVENIMENTUL ZILEI Director Ion Cristoiu by Laurentiu Badicioiu; place and date not given: "Cotroceni's New Stupidity"]

[Text] [Badicioiu] Ion Cristoiu, the daily EVENIMENTUL ZILEI is under criminal investigation for violating the law on state security. How do you view this new conflict between the president and your newspaper?

[Cristoiu] Even if the decision belongs to the General Prosecuting Magistracy, I believe this is a new stupidity of the Cotroceni [Romanian Presidency], namely using this pretext to start a new campaign against the EVENIMENTUL ZILEI. Let us not forget that there are most tense relations between our newspaper and the president. We have been under criminal investigation for quite some time following a personal request of the president and we were penalized, meaning that our journalists can no longer attend news conferences held at Cotroceni Palace, as if it were President Iliescu's personal property. Maybe this is a new pretext used to start a campaign against our newspaper. If a newspaper such as EVENIMENTUL ZILEI can intercept a telephone call from Cotroceni Palace, this means that any dumb spy can listen to what is being discussed at Cotroceni and find out even more about the head of the state! President Iliescu is taking his revenge on the person who drew his attention to this fact. This act of ours also has the purpose to drawing the attention of the public to the chaos currently prevailing in Romania.

[Badicioiu] Mr. Cristoiu, it has been indicated that there is a person at Cotroceni Palace who supplies information to the EVENIMENTUL ZILEI and, now, there are attempts to eliminate this person...

[Cristoiu] There is no such a person. Nobody is supplying us any secret information because, as a matter of fact, such a person would be useless, considering that the decisions taken by President Iliescu are taken by him alone, so we should have a person hiding inside the president's head, a sort of small devil, who could tell us what goes on in the president's head. We get our information through our specific means. Mrs. Nicolaescu, who was answering the phone, had a behavior that is unqualifiable for a person who is the chief of the cabinet of the head of state, meaning that she allows herself to make idiotic comments. Thus, instead her being removed from office, this criminal investigation was started against us!

[Badicioiu] How do you view this formulation in the law on state security?

[Cristoiu] Only now, we are beginning to realize that when the law is implemented, there are all kind of loopholes in it that allow evasion of the law. The same holds true for this law on state security. We are accused of disseminating information of a secret nature. I believe that this is the most aberrant affirmation possible, because when a newspaper can disseminate information of a secret nature, it means that the respective information has not been protected. Therefore, the first measure to be taken would be to protect such information. Instead of those who fail to protect such information being punished, those who publish them are attacked. Certainly, I agree that a high Army official should be punished if he supplies secret information to somebody. However, if the press got hold of this piece of information, I fail to see why it has to be punished rather than those who were entrusted to keep the respective information secret!

[Badicioiu] Do you believe that the messages published in your paper damaged the image of the president?

[Cristoiu] No, I do not think so. I believe that things are much simpler than that. Considering that I am aware of the state of affairs at Cotroceni, I understand how things work there. For the president, that was the greatest eulogy on his birthday because we were the only paper that published something positive. None of the pro-presidential newspapers bothered to report on the president's birthday. I believe that if I had worked with the DIMINEATA [presidential paper] I would have been given an award because I, using my own means, published a whole page—just imagine!—full of positive messages. I believe that Mrs. Nicolaescu made a big fuss and, just like Desdemona, complained to the president, and he, being a sensitive person when it comes to female company around him, got very angry. Probably, if we had not reported what the lady was chattering about, nothing would have happened. I believe that, from the

president's viewpoint, it was some of the most successful reading for Ion Iliescu. Now, President Iliescu has to prove that he has a feeling for drama because, when a newspaper in Romania can intercept what is being discussed at Cotroceni, it means that the system of national defense is in the worst possible shape. Considering that humor often mixes with the tragic side of things, the president should close the entire affair and start taking internal protection measures. In any event, we have done an immense service to the president, because we drew his attention to the fact that, in spite of all the money that the electorate gives him to ensure his protection, talks in the Cotroceni Palace can be intercepted any time by anybody who wishes to do so.

'Presidential Sanctions' Protested

AU1603185694 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 11 Mar 94 p 3

[Marcela Feraru report: "Daily EVENIMENTUL ZILEI has Submitted a Complaint to the Council of Europe About President Ion Iliescu Violating the Human Rights Convention"]

[Text] One year ago, that is, on 13 May 1993, Romanian President Ion Iliescu suspended the accreditation of the EVENIMENTUL ZILEI daily to Cotroceni Palace [Romanian Presidency]. Our journalists were banned from participating in news conferences given by the president and their access to the presidential palace or close to the president's circle at various events or visits throughout the country or abroad was banned, because they are guilty of publishing a figure that represented the salary that President Iliescu was about to receive after a vote in the parliament.

The requests of the EVENIMENTUL ZILEI to have the accreditation returned remained without response. Currently, our daily continues to be submitted to presidential sanctions. In these conditions, in which the domestic means of attack have been exhausted, the only solution to settle this situation, which involves the violation of a fundamental principle of the European Convention on Human Rights—the free access to information—remains to bring it to the attention of the Council of Europe [CE]. We wish to note that we are not talking about the rights of our paper, but the rights of our readers—those people who are paying their taxes to the state and thus participate in supporting the expenses of the presidency—to be informed about President Ion Iliescu's activity.

As a matter of fact, the situation is already known by the Strasbourg Forum. The documents of the rapporteurs on Romania, completed on the occasion of the procedure of admitting our country to the Council of Europe, also mentions that the accreditation of certain papers that criticize the leadership has been suspended and it is suggested that this problem should be solved immediately. The same issue can also be found in Document 6953, which was distributed to European parliamentarians at the 1994 January session, a document that was initiated by Daniel Tarschys, president of the Liberal political group.

We must note that, for the time being, the citizens of Romania do not have the possibility to turn to the European Court of Human Rights because—in contradiction to the latest affirmations of Florin Radulescu Botica, Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] senator—the European Convention on Human Rights has not been submitted to the parliament for ratification. We are quoting a passage from Notification Number 176 in connection with Romania's request to be admitted to the Council of Europe: "The Assembly attaches great importance to the promises made by the Romanian authorities to sign and ratify expeditiously the European Convention on Human Rights (Article 25 of the Convention) as well as the compulsory jurisdiction of the European Court for Human Rights (Article 46 of the Convention)."

In these conditions, our daily has decided to draw the attention of the presidents of the two commissions that, on the basis of the Halonen directive, are supervising the implementation of the commitments assumed by Romania when it was accepted to the Council of Europe:

Esteemed Mr. President:

Through you and through the commission that you head, we turn to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe to ask you to intercede with the Council of Europe through the procedural means available to you, in order to put an end to the violation of one of the fundamental standards of European democracy, namely the freedom of the press and the right to have free access to information.

We are referring to the act of banning the journalists of our publication, that is, the EVENIMENTUL ZILEI daily, from being present at news conferences organized by Romania's president, as well as banning them from all sources of information connected with the activity of the presidential institution. This measure was taken precisely as a punishment for articles and critical news items that were published in our newspaper about the policy promoted by the president or the government.

We would like to mention that the newspaper EVENIMENTUL ZILEI is the most popular daily in Romania and has three daily issues, and that it is obvious that, precisely for this reason, out of all the independent papers published in Romania, EVENIMENTUL ZILEI is the most severely sanctioned, thus the most important source in the written press is being obstructed.

This illegal punitive measure was adopted on 13 May 1993 and it has not been lifted, either after our repeated requests or upon the public's request; it has not been lifted upon the recommendation of the Council of Europe either, which was included clearly in the reports

of Messrs. Friedrik Koenig and Gunnar Jansson [Council of Europe rapporteurs].

Apart from the material and moral loss suffered by our newspaper as a result of the lack of possibility to relate various information from its own sources regarding the presidential institution, the greatest damage is suffered by the Romanian public itself, which is missing the possibility of having complete and unhampered access to information.

We would like to add to the above that it was the same presidential institution that, meantime, brought a series of criminal charges against us for the most-aberrant crimes imagineable. The fact that the respective trials had the purpose of intimidating us and hampering us in our action to freely exercise our profession is also proved by the fact that every time the procedures began, the president withdrew the charges and abandoned the act as unexpectedly as he had started it.

In accordance with the normal procedures, we would have liked to turn to the European Court of Human Rights with our problem, however, unfortunately, we still do not have this possibility because Romania, in spite of its pledges, has not, to this very day, ratified the European Convention on Human Rights. We reserve the right that after the ratification of the respective Convention, we can turn to the Court of Justice in Strasbourg. However, considering that the act of finding solutions to this problem can no longer be delayed, we are turning to you for support.

Within this context we also express our dissatisfaction with the unjustified slow pace with which the current leadership is going through the procedural moves of ratifying the European Convention on Human Rights.

We thank you for the attention you pay to our problem and we express our hope that the actions that you are going to take will be effective and will be in favor of democracy.

Hungarian Day Celebrations Reported

AU1503193094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 94

[Text] According to reports sent in by our correspondents, manifestations pegged to the 146th anniversary of the 1848 Hungarian revolution took place in various localities today. Major Gabor Nagy, deputy military attache at the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest, and (Jozsef Gotz), vice president of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] in charge of cultural and religious affairs, participated in a religious service held at the Reformed Church of Sighetul Marmatiei. Wreaths were laid today at commemorative plaques in Cluj-Napoca in honor of two of the prominent figures of the revolutionary events of 1848, Sandor Petofi and Nicolae Balcescu. Andras Kelemen, secretary of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a delegation from the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest, and several UDMR leaders participated in a festive meeting and a gala show at the Targu Mures Palace of Culture tonight.

A religious celebration and wreath-laying ceremony took place at the Monument of the Martyr Szecklers in Targu Mures this afternoon. The wreaths carried the emblem of the Hungarian state as well as sashes with the colors of the Hungarian national flag.

Gyorgy Tokay, UDMR deputy from Arad, addressed a ceremony held at the Monument of the 13 Generals at the Arad Citadel. He emphasized the worldwide historical significance of the freedom won by the Hungarians in the wake of the 1848 revolution. Wreaths were laid on behalf of UDMR-Arad branch, the Hungarian Embassy to Bucharest, the Town Hall of Arad Municipality, the Democratic Organization of Bulgarians from Arad, the German Forum, and various Hungarian journalistic, cultural, and youth organizations from Arad.

The series of UDMR actions pegged to the 1848-1849 revolution concluded in Covasna County this afternoon. Wreaths were laid at the monument in the center of Sfantu Gheorghe Municipality, after which a commemorative show took place at the Little Stadium. In this connection, Mr. Adrian Vlad Casuncan, prefect of Covasna County, told the press that in his opinion today's actions are anomalies of a revanchist nature. Both in Targu Secuiesc and Baraolt the demonstrators carried the Hungarian flag; in Baraolt, the Romanian flag was covered with a black ribbon in several instances. The Covasna prefect said that he will ask the town halls and the police to take legal steps against the UDMR organizers and he also emphasized that Law 60/1991 on organizing and holding public meetings should be amended in order to avoid the repeat of such antinational actions in the future.

PSM President Comments on 'Failed' Reform

AU1703125994 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 14 Mar 94 p 8

[Irina Dimiu article: "In Spite of Parliamentary Support, There Are Huge Differences of Doctrine and Policy Between the PSM and PDSR"]

[Text] At the conference of the Bucharest Municipality organization of the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor], party President Ilie Verdet said: "We do not recognize that there was a revolution in Romania. Had there been a revolution, then we would like to know who the leaders of the revolution were. As far as the changes that happened then are concerned, we think that it was necessary to eliminate Nicolae Ceausescu and his totalitarian regime."

Expressing his belief that the reform has failed because it was not managed in a qualified and competent way, the PSM president said that: "those who were in power and promoted the reform should not be judged because they enjoyed 66 percent of the votes of the electorate." The Social-Democrats—who have been ruling so far—have

not understood that they have to change the basic concept of this reform. Social-democracy was discredited in Romania for a long time because of Roman (Petre, former prime minister and president of the Democratic Party) and Cunescu (Sergiu, president of the Social Democratic Party of Romania).

We voted in favor of the IMF memorandum, Verdet said, although it is onerous and unjust toward our country, but we could not possibly vote with the right wing. However, we have achieved a compromise, namely, that the respective memorandum should not be approved by law, so the parliament is now free to reject it and ask for it to be renegotiated.

"We told the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] members that they should solve the case of [former Defense Minister] Spiroiu and Pancea [accused of spying for the French secret services], because they need to show some moral character at least at the top, because Mitrea [Fratia Free TU Confederation vice president] and Ciorbea [Fratia Free TU Confederation president] understand only the language of money."

As far as foreign policy is concerned, the PDM president said: "We have no business in a war together with the United States against Iraq. Even if Saddam is a dictator and the Iraqi people support him, that is their business. What was our justification to side with the United States and Israel in the blockade against Cuba? What are we doing in a war side by side with the United States in Somalia?"

PUNR Senator Briefs Media on U.S. Visit

AU1503161894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 15 Mar 94

[Text] A group of parliament members from the National Unity Party of Romania [PUNR] held a news conference in the Green Hall of the Senate today within the framework of which Adrian Motiu, vice president of the Senate Foreign Policy Commission, presented a few of his conclusions regarding the visit he recently paid to Washington.

Referring to the way Romania is known in Washington, the PUNR senator assessed that this knowledge is simplistic and distorted due to the lack of information for which the diplomatic mission representing us there is to be blamed as well.

Mr. Adrian Motiu specified that during his meetings at the State Department and U.S. Congress, he explained that the PUNR is far from the description of extremism and that the verbal attacks of certain leaders have nothing to do with the way of action and thinking of PUNR.

Referring to the Hungarian celebration linked to 13-15 March, PUNR believes that they must take place within a legal framework, without harming the national dignity of Romanians, our correspondent Ana Ionescu informed us.

Presidency, Government Discuss Federation

AU1603195294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] A consultative meeting of the Presidency and the government was held in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency building today, with only one item on the agenda—scrutiny of the constitutional solution for the Federal Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the signing of the agreement with the Republic of Croatia.

The meeting was chaired by Bosnia-Herzegovina Deputy Prime Minister Edib Bukvic. Several suggestions were put forward in the debate that will be conveyed to our negotiators. It is expected that the Washington agreement will be signed by Presidents Izetbegovic and Tudjman, to be subsequently ratified by the deputies of our assembly.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly session is expected to take place at the end of this month.

Assembly Prepares To Discuss Federation

AU1603160194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] A session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly that will, among other things, discuss the signing of the agreement on the federation between the Bosniaks, the Muslims, and the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, will be held at the end of March or at the beginning of April this year, Assembly Chairman Miro Lazovic emphasized at today's session of a group of deputies of the republican Assembly from Sarajevo.

After the publication of the draft Bosnia-Herzegovina constitution and other documents that will be passed, it is necessary to immediately activate the constitutional commission, the human rights' commission, and the commission for the legislative-legal issues of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly in order to prepare the assembly session as best as possible, Assembly Secretary General Aldo Campara said.

I believe that the commissions should work in their full makeup, namely that the deputies of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] should also take part in their work, while we must also secure the arrival of Deputy Assembly Chairman Mariofil Ljubic to the Assembly session, deputy Muharem Cero said.

Rasim Kadic emphasized that the deputies throughout the republic must receive an invitation to resume contacts with the representatives of the HDZ and proposed the holding of a joint meeting prior to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly session.

Karadzic Assesses Prospects for Federation

AU1603160094 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 94 p 11

[Report by S. Beric: "Karadzic's Warning to the Muslims"]

[Text] Borovo Naselje, 14 Mar—The first constituent session of the convention of the Serbian Democratic Parties [SDS] of the Serbian Lands, which was attended by members of the SDS of the Serbian Lands from east Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem, who adopted with acclamation the convention on the unification of all SDS into one party that was signed in Pale on 7 November 1993, was held in Borovo Naselje yesterday. The membership accepted with acclamation that the SDS of the Serbian Lands cease work and transfer their powers to President Radovan Karadzic and a main committee.

Radovan Karadzic, president of the SDS of the Serbian Lands, presented the program aims of the united party. According to Karadzic, which is something he insisted on throughout his speech, the aim of the SDS of the Serbian Lands is not to win power, but to realize its program in the interest of the people—"winning power is the means to accomplish this." One of the main tasks of the party is reinstate the traditional values of the Serbian people.

State Unity—The Basis of Everything

On our path to realize the program, Karadzic said, there are several priorities. The first priority is to overcome the divisions in the Serbian nation in every respect, especially tribal divisions.

"The state unity is left for the end and this unity is in fact the beginning of everything," Karadzic said. The state is a guarantee for the survival of a nation. The time has come for the Serbs to finish what Karadjordje had started. The phrase frequently misused in the world is "great Serbia." Russia is big, and Serbia is as big as it is. Once all Serbian lands are incorporated, they will make up some 150,000 square meters.

The Serbs in the Serbian Republic, Karadzic said, have their territory and are controlling it; they have their own nation and effective authorities. These are the elements needed for the existence of a country, which was also admitted by UN representative Akashi. However, the military victory is only one step and this military victory should be turned into a political and diplomatic victory. After that we should seek the recognition of sovereignty.

After the constituent session and the speech by President Karadzic on the party's program, the delegates held a meeting behind closed doors at which they discussed the new program and the statute of the party. Dr. Karadzic then held a news conference.

Regarding the opening of Tuzla airport, Karadzic said that he had reached an agreement with a Russian diplomat on the conditions needed to be met for the opening

of the airport. These are the guarantees that the airport will not be used for military purposes. However, the Muslims have started the spring offensive on Mount Ozren in an attempt to capture Modrica and Doboj, which, according to Karadzic, is the first stage of breaking through the corridor.

"We will say very clearly, and I am saying this to you now, that if the Muslims do not stop their offensive, we will not make any territorial concessions. The Muslims cannot be guaranteed 30 percent of the territory and allowed to continue fighting against us. Since they have opted to fight, they will then get as much territory as they win. Had they opted for political talks in time, we would have come to certain arrangements in a peaceful way."

The statement by Alija Izetbegovic that 64 percent of the territory will belong to the Muslim-Croat federation, according to Karadzic, is simply a provocation directed at the Serbs to reject this idea. This would then be used as the reason to reject the Washington agreement. Karadzic claims that neither the Croats nor the Muslims want the agreement, which they were forced to sign. They are looking for reasons and motives to break the talks and the agreement. Radovan Karadzic then confirmed that the talks with the Russians were difficult because, "contrary to the erroneous belief in the world, the Russians are not our protectors in the sense the that Americans are the protectors of the Muslims."

Secret Signals to Serbs

"Russia is playing a constructive role and we must clearly say that Russia is not partial toward the Serbs. Russia is trying to be objective and it is in its interest that a solution be found as soon as possible. Whether this solution is favorable for the Serbs or not, they are not asked about it that much. However, we are here to say that such a solution is not a solution for us. Nevertheless, I think that Russia has a correct view on all this and that the Russians will realize that it is in their interests that the Serbs realize their aims, because these aims could not be against Russia's interests."

Answering the question as to whether Russia had prevented NATO's military intervention in the Serbian Republic, Karadzic expressed the view that NATO was relieved when Russia entered the game. According to Karadzic, in this game with NATO, the European Union ejected itself from the game.

The Serbs are now receiving secret signals from certain European capitals. They now want to achieve through the Serbs the kind of results achieved by Churkin. They missed their chance and we no longer have reason to deal with European capitals. If Russia and the United State are here, we will deal with them, with those that can bring about a solution, Radovan Karadzic said.

[Box, p 11]

Karadzic on Churkin's Statement in Zagreb

The most interesting remark was certainly Karadzic's view on the statements by Vitaliy Churkin in Zagreb on the possibility of the Serbs entering the federation with the Croats and the Muslims in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"This is possible but not probable," Dr. Karadzic said. "We are allowing for the possibility of discussing all this and do not want to spoil what the Croats and the Muslims are doing. This is their right, as long as it does not affect the Serbs in the Serbian Republic and the Serbian Republic of Krajina. I ask myself somewhat naively: Why would it be natural for the Serbs to live with the Croats and the Muslims and not with the Serbs. I have no answer to this simple question."

Izetbegovic Departs for Washington

AU1603191694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, departed for the United States, where he is supposed to take part in the ceremony to sign the agreement on the creation of the Bosniak-Croatian federation in Washington on Friday [18 March]. In the presence of U.S. President Clinton, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman is also expected to place his signature on this agreement.

Maglaj Aid Undelivered, Attack Continues

AU1603153494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Hajrudin Sermic report from Maglaj]

[Text] Maglaj has again been shelled heavily today. Just before 1100 the chetniks opened fierce artillery fire at the town and the surrounding area, unselectively destroying residential quarters. Only at 1400, when NATO bombers appeared and swooped over them, did their guns fall silent. Some 30 destructive shells were fired from multiple rocket launchers at the town, killing one person and inflicting serious wounds on two others.

So the suffering of the population of this town is continuing with new brutality every day, and things are only made worse by hunger. There is no sign of the convoy with food that has been announced for today, as Karadzic's mob is still preventing the entry of the aid that is so needed in Maglaj.

British SAS Troops Deployed

LD1703123694 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1131 GMT 17 Mar 94

[Report by Charles Miller, PRESS ASSOCIATION defence correspondent]

[Text] Patrol groups of elite SAS [Special Air Service] troops are believed to be operating inside the besieged Muslim enclave of Maglaj in northern Bosnia.

Their presence underscores the determination of United Nations commander Lieutenant General Sir Michael Rose to lift the nine-month siege.

Surrounded by Serb artillery and mortars, the 20,000 inhabitants have been surviving on airdropped food in appalling conditions. The last convoy to reach Maglaj was in October. UN relief officials who visited the area in January reported "larders bare and children nothing more than skin and bones."

Lt. Gen. Rose, who has spent much of his Army career with the SAS, plans to open the enclave to aid convoys preferably with Serb consent but using a more muscular approach if necessary.

With most of Bosnia quiet under two cease-fires, the Serbs are being pressured by the international community—including their traditional ally Russia—to halt attacks on the town.

Lt. Gen. Rose dropped several teams of armed British soldiers into the Muslim enclave earlier this week to assess the situation. The Ministry of Defence in London maintained its usual "no comment" on special forces operations.

However, trained to operate in small self-sufficient patrol teams of as few as four men, the SAS are the ideal reconnaissance troops to feed back information on front-line positions, weapons and conditions in the area. They will report back directly to the headquarters of Lt. Gen. Rose, who undoubtedly made the request for their assistance.

Although the use of SAS-type units in a UN peacekeeping operation is unusual it is not unique. American Delta Force troops were sent to Somalia last year in an abortive attempt to capture the warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid.

Government, Serbs Sign Sarajevo Accord

AU1703152394 Paris AFP in English 1503 GMT 17 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, March 17 (AFP)—The Bosnian Government and Bosnian Serbs on Thursday signed an agreement to open roads and partially lift the siege of the Bosnian capital Sarajevo, officials announced.

Under the UN-sponsored agreement, Sarajevo will be linked by road to central Bosnia-Herzegovina via the Moslem majority town of Visoko (25 kilometres) to the west and other road corridors will be opened.

Army Captures Territory, Equipment From Serbs

AU1703102094

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 17 March carries within its regular 8-minute newscast several reports on the combat situation in the republic.

Reporting from the Press Center of the 370th Brcko Brigade, correspondent Dijana Hadzic says that "after being defeated by the members of the armed forces of our country yesterday, the chetniks today continued their fierce shelling of the defense lines of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the operational zone of Operation Group West and the Bugojno city center from the direction of Kupres and Donji Vakuf.

"In a strong counterattack the free territory of our country has been expanded. The fighters of the 370th Brcko Brigade at [word indistinct] captured a T-55 tank, an antiaircraft gun, mortars, and a large quantity of infantry weapons and equipment. In fierce fighting, the aggressor lost 30 soldiers.

"Members of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina from Donji Vakuf's 370th Brcko Brigade are scoring only successes in this region. In less than 24 hours the enemy has lost another two T-55 tanks. A general danger alert is in force in Bugojno as we report."

According to Bihac correspondent Mirza Sadikovic, "after the bestial shelling of Bihac and the outskirts of Cazin yesterday, in which one person was killed and several wounded, the night in the Bihac and Cazin area was somewhat quieter. Nevertheless, the chetniks sporadically shelled their old targets, the suburbs of Bihac, the outskirts of Cazin, the Bihac-Cazin road, and the industrial zone."

Sadikovic also reports that a "new artillery-tank attack was launched on the Grmusko-Srbjanski plateau early this morning," and that "the attack is still in progress."

Travnik correspondent Ahmet Begicevic reports that "owing to the shelling, a general danger alarm was sounded in Travnik at about 2200 [2100 GMT] last night. The chetniks fired an artillery shell at the town from the Vlasic plateau, causing substantial material damage and wounding one person. Travnik was also sporadically shelled overnight. At 0730 this morning, the general danger alarm was sounded again after another shell had been fired on the town."

According to the studio announcer, "the extremists of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] seriously violated the cease-fire agreement on several occasions yesterday, especially in the central parts of Mostar, the Information Service of the 4th Army Corps reports. The fighters of Vinko Martinovic yesterday violated the cease-fire that is otherwise being observed across the entire operational zone of the 4th Army Corps. Members of this formation fired several times using an RPG [expansion unknown] and splinter ammunition at the line of separation from

the direction of the Health Center. The HVO extremists also attacked the road junction near the bus station in Mostar with a sower of death [M-84 machine gun]. Provocations continued throughout the night.

"Regarding the latest serious violation of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities, the Command of the 4th Army Corps has lodged a protest with the Spanish UN battalion, expecting the representatives of the peace forces finally to do something, considering that previous warnings have not yielded any results. (?Similar) provocations by irresponsible groups and individuals from the HVO were also registered on the Prozor front, in the Orahovica region.

"The defense lines in this part of the 4th Army Corps' operational zone were also the target of artillery attacks by the Serbian aggressor, especially in the region of (?Djelimic), the Information Service of the 4th Army Corps reports."

Muslim, Croat Clashes Continue

LD1603155094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1459 GMT 16 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—Clashes between the forces of local Muslims and Croats are continuing in the central and southern part of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, despite the signed agreement on the creation of a Muslim-Croatian federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the military agreement between the two sides.

In central Bosnia-Herzegovina, the forces of local Croats, Croatian Defense Council troops and Croatian regular army troops opened on Wednesday sniper fire on the positions of Muslim forces in the surroundings of Gornji Vakuf. In the valley of the River Lasva Croatian forces are digging trenches and keep on shifting the line of separation, Muslim Radio Sarajevo announced.

Over five thousand troops of the Croatian regular army are still fighting in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, although the deadline fixed by the Security Council for their withdrawal—February 17—has long passed.

In the Mostar basin (southern Bosnia-Herzegovina) strong explosions resounded on Tuesday, with the occasional use of small arms and the air defense guns of Croatian and Muslim forces—the military sources of Bosnian Serbs said. Muslim Radio Sarajevo reported that the Croatian Defense Council continued on Wednesday attacks on Muslim positions.

Muslim military sources announced on Tuesday that Croatian Defense Council units opened sniper fire on passers by on the Mostar-Blagal road, so that representatives of the Spanish batallion within UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] were forced to intervene.

The military sources of Bosnian Serbs report that Croatian Defense Council troops opened fire on Tuesday on the line of separation in Mostar. In Blagaj, south of Mostar, which is under Muslim control, two strong explosions were heard Tuesday evening, and a Croatian helicopter opened fire in the surroundings of Bijelo Polje north of Mostar Tuesday night.

Representatives of Bosnian Croats and Muslims signed in Washington on March 1, under strong U.S. pressure, a preliminary agreement on the formation of a federation of two peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which would later enter a confederation with Croatia.

Washington's concept is to make possible, by a maneuver of a dual state for Muslims, the continuation, even though partial, of a unitary Bosnia, the extension of the territory under Muslim control, an outlet to the sea for Muslims, and finally to create a strong negotiating (and if possible a military) block against Bosnian Serbs in the coming phase.

Churkin on Difficulties of Establishing Peace

AU1703075894 Paris AFP in English 0250 GMT 17 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Zagreb, March 17 (AFP)—Croatian authorities and officials of breakaway Serb-held Krajina could sign a ceasefire agreement when they meet next Tuesday [22 March], Russian envoy Vitaly Churkin said here Wednesday.

Churkin announced the meeting, to be held in the Russian embassy here, after talks Wednesday with officials from Krajina.

The first task was to get them to sign a watertight ceasefire agreement to make sure there was no more fighting around Serb-controlled zones under United Nations protection, he said.

Such an agreement already existed, but the two sides had for "emotional and political reasons" refused to sign it so far, Churkin said.

"People cannot make that final step towards peace, they are so used to war that this final step is psychologically difficult."

He told reporters that the announcement had been previously worked out with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman "so it did not come as a surprise to him."

He said his talks with both sides had proved difficult as "mistrust is great on both sides."

"There are certainly some on both sides who believe that the only way to go is by military means, which I happen to believe very strongly is a catastrophe," he said. [passage omitted]

Hopes for Croat-Serb Accord

LD1603234894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, received Russia's special envoy for former Yugoslavia, Vitaliy Churkin, this evening. After the talks the Russian diplomat told journalists that they discussed top-level negotiations between state representatives of the Republic of Croatia and representatives of the Serbs from the occupied parts of Croatia. A meeting has been scheduled for 22 March. It will take place at the Russian Embassy in Zagreb. Having mentioned that he had already discussed these negotiations with President Tudjman, Vitaliy Churkin told domestic and foreign journalists:

[Begin Churkin recording, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] The first thing to be done is to sign a very strong document guaranteeing that there would be no further fighting in the [UN] protected areas and around them. In the past few days we worked very hard in order to arrange a meeting at which an agreement would be signed. This agreement had been studied earlier, but for political reasons it was never either completed or signed. I hope that the agreement will be signed at the Russian Embassy in Zagreb on 22 March, but I am certain that it will not be easy. I hope that the attitude of the two sides would not be to try to squeeze out some concessions at the last minute, but to try to show that each side is the one which is being more constructive and prepared to make greater concessions for the sake of peace.

I hope that the attitude will not be technical, i.e., that they will not discuss how far, for instance, a particular cannon would have to be moved from a particular tree, so that the agreement could be implemented. I hope that the state approach—based on a very strong desire for peace—will prevail. I am certain that this desire exists both among the Croats and among the Serbs. [end recording]

Government, Krajina Serbs To Hold Peace Talks

AU1603150994 Paris AFP in English 1440 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (AFP)—Croatian officials and representatives of the breakaway Croatian Serbs are to hold peace talks in Zagreb later this month, Russian special envoy Vitaly Churkin said here Wednesday [16 March] after talks with the breakaway Serbs.

Churkin met at the Russian Embassy with Croatian Serb leaders Milan Martic, Slobodan Jarcevic and General Milan Celeketic, declaring afterwards that they had agreed to peace talks in Zagreb next Tuesday [22 March].

Martic, however, said he had agreed to attend the meeting on condition that that the Croatian delegation to the talks be headed by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

The peace talks would mark the first time Serb leaders from the breakaway Krajina region travel to Zagreb since clashes between the two sides began in 1991.

The Russian Embassy in Zagreb said Churkin was expected back in Zagreb Wednesday afternoon to discuss the matter with Tudjman.

Before leaving Belgrade, however, he was scheduled to hold separate meetings with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

The Bosnian Serb SRNA news agency said Karadzic had indicated he would be willing to discuss a proposed federation plan linking Croats and Moslems as long as it did not go counter to Serb interests.

The plan calls for Bosnia's Moslems and Croats to merge their territories in a loose Bosnian federation that could eventually be linked with Croatia.

Attempts to convince the Serbs to join the U.S.-brokered plan and end more than two years of bloodshed in Bosnia have so far proved fruitless.

Churkin, who is Russian President Boris Yeltsin's special envoy to the former Yugoslavia, and Milosevic met Monday to discuss possible Serb involvement in the proposed federation's constitution.

Churkin earlier this week also met Bosnian Serb leaders Momcilo Krajisnik and Nikola Koljevic.

The Belgrade daily BORBA said the U.S.-brokered federation plan would be discussed at a meeting here Wednesday involving Milosevic, Karadzic and Martic.

Martic Comments on Negotiations With Croatia

AU1603175694 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1641 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Interview with Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, by unidentified correspondents in Belgrade on 16 March—recorded]

[Text] [Martic] We did not discuss the future status of the republic of Serbian Krajina. We will deal with this problem in the coming period, and we have said that the problem of the republic of Serbian Krajina must be returned to the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia since it is well known that we have not been present there for some time now. The Krajina is being discussed without the presence of the Krajina representatives. Therefore, I believe that in the near future, the Krajina will have its place at the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, where this issue will be reviewed. However, generally, the issue of the Krajina will be solved on the principle of self-determination, something that has been guaranteed to all other peoples; we shall fight so that we in the republic of Serbian Krajina can also have this right.

[Unidentified correspondent] How did Mr. Churkin react to this?

[Martic] Well, quite correctly, and he supported the initiative to have our problem solved within the framework of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Martic, has there been pressure for the Krajina to join the Muslim-Croat federation?

[Martic] There has been no pressure so far. Probably most of the pressures are now concentrated on that part of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. I suppose that there will be [pressure]. However, nothing in the Krajina can be solved without the people of the republic of Serbian Krajina, without the legitimately elected institutions—the parliament, government, president; we shall decide the future of the republic of Serbian Krajina within this framework. Moreover, I believe that the fate will be decided in a [word indistinct] new referendum before the international public, once we in the republic of Serbian Krajina are granted this right, the right to self-determination.

[Unidentified correspondent] In what phase are the negotiations, the direct negotiations, between the Krajina and Croatia?

[Martic] Well, for a long time we did not hold any negotiations for well-known reasons, because Croatia simply did not respect any peace agreements and continued with provocations, infiltrating terrorist groups like the one recently infiltrated into Lika where the Vojnic territory was taken back—this is known—then again recently, the infiltration of groups into the area of Banija, or more precisely, around Glina, where we have noticed a constant duality of the Croatian side [sentence as heard]; on one hand they are stressing peace, promoting peace in the world, yet on the other hand they are constantly provoking. [Words indistinct] as we have agreed today to negotiate a cessation of hostilities, to establish peace, which certainly does not mean a political solution for either the Krajina or Croatia.

[Unidentified correspondent] What were your conditions for going to Zagreb?

[Martic] We certainly stressed that it has got to be known that this is not the territory of the Republic of Croatia, that this is extraterritorial since it is the Russian Embassy, and with maximum security—which we do not doubt—and which will be taken care of by Russia, by its representatives, that is, so that our delegation can feel they are on neutral ground and that they can negotiate on completely equal terms.

[Unidentified correspondent] Who will be in your delegation?

[Martic] Well, we will elect a delegation, probably comprising the defense minister, the foreign minister, we shall see, we shall come to a decision in a couple of days.

[Unidentified correspondent] Were you pressured by Belgrade to accept this agreement?

[Martic] No, no. We held correct talks with Belgrade and the official authorities, but we have been given the initiative to decide our own fate; of course, we can accept well-intentioned suggestions from anyone, particularly suggestions that are well-intentioned—and that has always been the case so far—and we accept the suggestions of the ruling cadre of the Republic of Serbia. However, we were not pressured.

[Unidentified correspondent] (?Will you be meeting with Milosevic)?

[Martic] I probably will. This cooperation is simply necessary and it was never discontinued.

President Tudjman Leaves for Washington

LD1703093394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 17 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has left for Washington. This afternoon, Central European time, he is to have talks with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. President Tudjman is also to open the Croatian Embassy in Washington today, about which THE WASHINGTON TIMES wrote yesterday. [passage omitted]

President Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic are to sign bases for a confederal agreement between the Republic of Croatia and the federal Bosnia-Herzegovina tomorrow. He is also to attend a ceremony at which an agreement on the establishment of a federation between the Croats and the Bosniak Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be signed.

In Washington the Croatian president is also to meet President Clinton, representatives of the largest international financial organizations, journalists, and Croatian emigrants. In New York he is to meet United Nations Secretary General Butrus-Ghali. [passage omitted]

Manolic Views Policies on Bosnia

AU1603173394 Split FERAL TRIBUNE in Serbo-Croatian 14 Mar 94

[Interview with Josip Manolic, chairman of the Chamber of Counties of the Croatian Assembly, by Heni Erceg; place and date not given: "Susak Must Go"]

[Excerpt] [Erceg] To what extent will the Washington agreement, which envisages the end of the war between the Muslims and Croats, help toward the settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina? How can the Bosnian Serbs be won to sign the agreement?

[Manolic] This agreement is opening the door to the settlement of all problems in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of course, it is much easier to solve the problem between the Muslims and the Croats than that with the Serbs. The war between the Muslims and the Croats should have never started, and was more the case of unfortunate circumstances than of policies working in the interests of either the Muslim or the Croat sides. In the search for the answer to the question of how to include the Bosnian Serbs in the negotiations, one should go back to the beginning of the Serbian aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina, the ethnic cleansing, and the killing, which resulted in the conquest of about 70 percent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Despite this, Serbia did not manage to force its opponents to capitulate. This fact will actually affect their future conduct. They will have to decide whether to carry on with the war to the end, until the military defeat of one or the other side, or stop at this point and join efforts to solve the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Karadzic and those around him will, in any case, have to explain to their people why the war was waged and why lives have been lost.

Why Were Lives Lost?

[Erceg] Will the Croatian politicians who accepted the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina have to answer the same question?

[Manolic] Yes, this question will also be raised here, although I think that it is more important at present to concentrate efforts on the consistent implementation of the agreement. This means observing peace, searching for an internal solution that would suit everyone in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and providing constitutional guarantees to each group.

[Erceg] You are therefore not questioning common life in Bosnia, like some other politicians who have been claiming for some time that cohabitation in this state has always been false?

[Manolic] Those who have been advocating such views, in the Assembly and outside it, should today feel ashamed of their statements, because these statements were not founded on either Bosnia-Herzegovina's past or present.

[Erceg] So, there is a sudden turnabout in attitudes toward the Muslims. President Tudjman says that the current denouement is the result of "consistency in Croatia's policies." What do you think about this? Has this policy indeed been consistent?

[Manolic] The thesis that is in circulation, as you can see, is that there is no turnabout in the policy and that this policy has consistently been implemented. However, if one looks at the development of Croatian-Muslim relations, one could see turnabouts and changes. Did we not first wage a war with the Muslims against the common enemy, the Serbs, did we not then clash with the Muslims, and are we not, today, again looking for ways of cohabiting in Bosnia-Herzegovina and a peaceful solution to the conflict? Every normal person will conclude that two turnabouts were made. I do not have anything against everyone adhering to their own assertions and theses. However, one should not impose one's own views, by using deceits and by passing the ball to the opponents' court, that all those who have been claiming that the war against the Muslims should never have taken place, or that such destruction and genocide, for which both sides are responsible, were unnecessary, were wrong.

[Erceg] You, Stipe Mesic, and some other people were in favor of preserving Bosnia-Herzegovina as a whole. Why were you not listened to?

[Mesic] The situation in politics is not the same as in the army. The dispute in the Croatian Democratic Community, which happened over the policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina, was won by the faction that, favoring the war option in Bosnia, did not anticipate all the consequences for Croatia and its interests.

Minority Was Right

[Erceg] The struggle between two factions in the Croatian Democratic Community was in fact a struggle for Tudjman's support. The solution to many problems, including that of Bosnia-Herzegovina, depended on this support.

[Manolic] It is normal that a faction that prevails in politics should play the lead role. One can remain in a minority with his own views, but this, of course, does not mean that one is wrong. This only means that one should let time reveal the value of his policies.

[Erceg] Will the proponents of such a Croatian policy be an obstacle to the realization of the Croatian-Muslim agreement or will they have to go?

[Manolic] The values of the multiparty system are such that even the line detrimental to the state can win sometimes. The Croatian policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina in the last two years has been between a rock and a hard place. While the opposition and the ruling party were united over the Serbian aggression, they were divided over the clash between the Croats and the Muslims.

[Erceg] I will repeat the question: Will some people represent an obstacle....?

[Manolic] Yes, a number of people will be an obstacle to the realization of the agreement with the Muslims.

[Erceg] Who are these people?

[Manolic] Gojko Susak [defense minister], for instance. He should not be seen only as a carrier pigeon between Zagreb and Grude, but also as a man responsible for that policy, as well as for statements and moves regarding the clash between the Croats and the Muslims.

[Erceg] Why do such people not resign and why is the institution of resignation almost unknown in politics in Croatia?

[Manolic] This only means that the mechanism of democratic institutions is not sufficiently effective to force the people responsible for the conflict to resign.

[Erceg] Were you ever afraid of a conflict among the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina because of the duality in the Croatian politics: Two completely different policies were applied toward the Croats in Herzegovina and the Croats in central Bosnia.

[Manolic] You know, about 10 months ago a proponent of the war option asked me: "Why are the Herzegovina Croats fighting at all when one half of the Croatian nation is against their Herceg-Bosna?" This question has not been answered to this date. Both history and the proponents of that policy will have to answer this question. [passage omitted]

Federal

Belgrade Approves Extension of UN Mandate

AU1603175894 Paris AFP in English 1736 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (AFP)—Belgrade has told the United Nations it approves of extending the UN Protection Force's (UNPROFOR) mandate in former Yugoslav republics bordering on Serbia and Montenegro, the daily POLITIKA said Wednesday. However, rump Yugoslavia, known formally as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) and comprised of Serbia and Montenegro, envisages introducing visas for UNPROFOR members, the newspaper reported. The force's mandate, extended on October 4, is due to expire March 31. "The FRY considers the UNPROFOR's presence in ex-Yugoslavia is necessary until a political agreement has been concluded on the existing problems," the paper quoted FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic as saying in a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali. Rump Yugoslavia "supports the Vance (peace) plan (in parts of Croatia under Serb secessionist control) and wants it to be strictly applied," Kontic added. However, he recalled that rump Yugoslavia was hesitant about the force being staffed by countries which dominated the region in the past, such as Austria, Turkey and Germany.

Meanwhile the government committee on cooperation with the UNPROFOR decided, at a session chaired by Kontic, to introduce visas for UN peacekeepers. The government was to confirm the move shortly and decide what date the visa requirement should start, the newspaper said.

Churkin, Martic, Karadzic on Belgrade Talks

AU1603213594 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Statements by Vitaliy Churkin, Russian special envoy for former Yugoslavia, Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, and Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, in Belgrade on 16 March; Churkin speaks in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Churkin] On Russia's initiative, official delegations from Zagreb and Knin will meet in the Russian Embassy in Zagreb on Tuesday, 22 March, in order to agree on the cessation of military and other hostilities. Thank you very much.

[Unidentified correspondent] Does this mean that you want the Krajina to become a part of the Croatian state?

[Churkin] No, this only means that we want the hostilities to stop and we want the situation in this area to return to normal. We hope that such an agreement on the cessation of hostilities will contribute to an improvement and gradual normalization of Croatian-Serbian relations, because this is a very important element for the entire situation in the former Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

[Churkin] This was a working meeting, one of many that we have had in the past year and a half. We discussed the prospects for a political solution of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina in light of the latest events, namely, the Muslim-Croatian concept of federation. I think that the bottom line we agreed on was that any kind of future political solution in Bosnia-Herzegovina must take into account the interests and sovereign rights of all three constituent peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina—the Muslims, Croats, and Serbs. We agreed that there are still paths to be explored in order to further the extremely difficult negotiating process.

[Karadzic] We are very satisfied with the fact that it is clear that the Serbian people have their sovereign rights to the same extent as the Croats and Muslims; we have, of course, stressed our need to have special relations with Serbia, Yugoslavia, that is, and we must look for a solution within this context, within the context of realizing our sovereign rights and (?particular) ties; for the time being we do not see a solution, but we do see the way to it.

Churkin Meets With Milosevic

LD1603163294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1618 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Russian President's special envoy and Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin discussed in Belgrade on Wednesday the peace process for the former Yugoslavia, the Russian initiatives and conditions for a political settlement of the crisis. Russia's efforts for disputes to be resolved peacefully, through talks and impartial mediation by the international community, were assessed as positive.

Milosevic and Churkin said they expected commitment to peace to be the essential feature of the further negotiations on the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and set out that commitment to peace was a basis for the reaching of a political agreement and the fulfillment of the national and state interests of the three warring sides.

Before meeting with Milosevic, Churkin conferred with presidents Radovan Karadzic of the Bosnian Serb Republic (R.S.) and Milan Martic of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK). The talk with Martic was part of a new Russian initiative for peace on the RSK territory, which is a U.N. protected area (UNPA). Churkin said after meeting with Martic that representatives of Croatia and the (republic of) Serb Krajina would meet at the Russian Embassy in Zagreb on March 22 to discuss the cessation of hostilities. Churkin said he felt it was impossible to resolve the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict without resolving the Croatia-Krajina problem.

The RSK was created in 1991 out of the predominantly Serb-populated areas within the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia in response to Croatia's secession and the attempt of its authorities to reduce the Serb people to a national minority. The RSK was proclaimed a U.N. protected area (UNPA) in March last year.

Montenegro

DPS Leaders Condemned, Compared to Zhirinovskiy

AU1703104094 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 94 p 5

[Article by Miodrag Perovic: "Herzeg-Montenegro"]

[Text] "Take me east of Suez where there is no difference between the best and the worst," Rudyard Kipling wished once. This week it was not necessary to travel that far in order to reach a world in which fantasy and reality meet. The second DPS [Democratic Party of Socialists] congress was the place in which the desired and the twisted world in which we live, led by the DPS and its leaders, were equalized.

DPS members said in the congress that they were devoted to democracy, but at the same time they use wiretaps and physical threats and misuse the media, which are more brutal than the communist television during the last 50 years. They claim to be establishing a constitutional state and torture people in prisons. They make statements in which they point out that they pursue the politics of peace and friendly relations with their neighbors, but they have obviously forgotten that they led a war outside Montenegro and sowed 250 graves over the country for Montenegrin youngsters who died in that war. They pretend to be developing a civilized state, while supporting ethnic cleansing not only in Bosnia, but also in Boka Kotorska and in northern Montenegro. They support political pluralism and parliamentary democracy but they arm their political followers. They boast about the safety Montenegro citizens allegedly have, but they "forget" to mention the act of kidnapping in Strpci, in which they were involved. They are trying to convince us that their foreign policy is constructive and assessed positively by the whole world, but their plane can only fly to Greece in order to buy furniture for their new apartments there. They are open to all democratic ideas, but "their attitudes are completely identical" with those of the fascist Zhirinovsky. They conducted a "secret" poll about public matters and invited the manager of an "independent" institute of an "autonomous" university to the party congress in order to read what they wrote for him. Their bells [the state media] were ringing two days long telling us that according to that objective poll more than 70 percent of the 1,000 respondents support Yugoslavia, but they did not say that less than 5 percent supported an alliance of Serbian states, called Yugoslavia, into which they want to push Montenegro, too.

Momir Bulatovic and Milo Djukanovic revived the idea that Montenegro and Herzegovina should merge. They did not state the reasons, so we cannot think of their opposite in order to know what their real motives are, but let us mention two possible reasons in order to make things clearer. One of the reasons is to offer the greedy and disoriented Montenegrins the chance to spread to Herzegovina. In this way they would be silenced—they would not dare oppose the process of making Montenegro a Serbian province. They would perhaps not become a national minority, but a weak majority in their own state. The second reason reveals that the constructors of a greater-Serbia in Bosnia have difficulties. If the Muslim-Croatian federation is accomplished, there are good chances that the territories along the Drina River in Eastern Bosnia will be annexed to it, regardless of the fact that they are ethnically clean now. If Serbs oppose the tripartite federation and if Bosnia enters two confederations, with Croatia and Serbia, there is the possibility that Serbian territories in Bosnia be divided into two separate parts. In this case, Herzegovina would be connected with Serbia through Montenegro as a member state of the alliance of Serbian states.

The DPS, led by Bulatovic and Djukanovic, keeps on denying Montenegro as a state. In the alliance of Serbian states, although its name might be Yugoslavia, there is no place for Montenegrin individuality, there are no conditions to cherish the national, cultural, religious, and other authentic Montenegrin traditions. The Serbian Institute for the Protection of Monuments was given the task of renovating the Romanesque church of Sveti Luka in Kotor. After the renovation the original dome without a square pedestal was turned into the Raska School type dome with a high square pedestal. This example illustrates how dull the (post)communist Montenegro is. It also shows the Serbian attitude toward Montenegrin cultural heritage and its future in any union of Serbian states.

The DPS members who gave standing ovations to the university assistant from Podgorica, should know that they are participants in the crime being committed against Montenegro on their behalf and with their own hands.

The fact that this is interpreted as the people's wish does not change the essence.

Kosovo

Police Repression, Raids Continue

AU1603213894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 94

[Text] [Announcer] The Kosova Information Center reports that at approximately 0600 today, new movements of the Serbian Army, accompanied by tanks and trucks loaded with large caliber cannons, have been observed in Dushanove village in the direction of Gjakove. Meanwhile, there are reports of raids, harassments,

and new arrests of Albanians throughout Kosova. For more, a telephone report by Ramadan Mucolli:

[Mucolli] The reports by the information commissions of the Kosova Democratic Alliance [LDK] branches state that during the two last days, the Serbian police have continued their repression against Albanian families and citizens in various parts of the republic. In most cases, there have been raids and pursuits under the pretext of searching for arms, as well as beatings, harassments, and summons to informative talks with the Serbian state security bodies.

There are also reports of harassments and beatings of LDK activists and searches for youngsters with the aim of sending them to the Serbian Army. Raids on Albanian families on the pretext of searching for arms were conducted in Dumnice e Eperme, Magjunaj, Pantine, Strote in Vushtrri; and then in Guimir and Llakuqan in Gline; Popove, Batllave, Livadice, and Bradash in Podujeve; Livesht in Gjilan; Jonik in Decan; Kolace in Skenderaj; and Negrovc in Gllogovc.

In many of the cases, after the raids, the police summoned the family heads and members to be present at the Serbian state security bodies. The harassment of LDK activists is also reported. Arif Ejupi, chairman of the party sub-branch in Gllanik in Podujeve, was brutally beaten. While Ejup Aliu, chairman of the LDK group in Tarllabosh in Vushtrri, was summoned to the police station. Reports from this commune confirm that in Magjunaj, the police searched for the young man Bekim Magjuni, with the aim of sending him to the Serbian Army.

Harassments of Albanian citizens have been reported in other areas of Kosova, while in Kline, a Serbian citizen beat Jashar Doqi, a guard at the Animal Food Factory, who was on duty.

The Prishtina-based Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms reports that Serbian inspectors checked the headquarters of the National Unity Party and interrogated the chairman of this party, Bajrush Bajrami.